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ŚAKAS IN INDIA

SATYA SHRAVA

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THE
ŚAKAS IN INDIA

SATYA SHRAVA, M.A.

Formerly : Director, State Museum, Lucknow ;
Deputy Keeper (Archaeology), National Museum, New Delhi
Author : *A Comprehensive History of Vedic Literature;*
Irrigation in India through the Ages etc.
Editor : *Vedic Vāngmaya kā Itihāsa* (5 Vols. in Hindi)

PRANAVA PRAKASHAN
1/28, Punjabi Bagh, New Delhi–110 026

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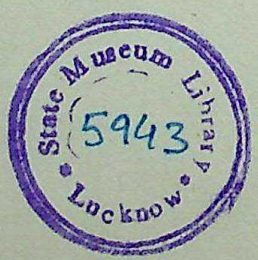
FIRST ILLUSTRATED EDITION : JANUARY, 1981

© *Publisher*, 1981

Published by :

PRANAVA PRAKASHAN
1/28, PUNJABI BAGH
NEW DELHI-110 026
PHONE : 50 25 81

PRICE : Rs. 300.00



Printed by :

R.K. PRINTERS
80-D, KAMLA NAGAR
DELHI-110 007

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PREFACE

'The Śakas in India', in its present form, is the revised, enlarged and illustrated edition of the earlier work published in 1947 from Lahore, just on the eve of the partition of India. A large number of its copies lying with the book binder were destroyed by arson. However, a sizeable number of its copies could reach important cultural and indological institutions. For the past 33 years, from 1947 to 1980, important archaeological discoveries, through excavations and explorations, have immensely added to our knowledge on the Śakas ruling in three different regions. *viz.* Gujarat, Mathura and Taxila. Systematic excavations and explorations have brought to light important archaeological wealth about Śakas. Organisation and development of the Archaeological Survey of India and State Archaeological Departments have helped discovery of material relating not only to the Śakas, but other dynasties, as well.

In the Lahore edition, illustrations of inscriptions were not added; this lacuna has been removed and illustrations of almost all the inscriptions of the Śaka rulers as well as those referring to Śakas, in general, have been included in the present publication. Number of inscriptions discovered, so far, his increased to 61. It has been an interesting task to collect all the relevant material and especially to arrange for their photographs. This laborious task undertaken for the past five years could bear fruit now. Still, photographs of three inscriptions (Nos. 2, 38 and 39 of Chapter III) have not been received and therefore not added to the present publication. Every opportunity will be availed to add these to the future edition which also will contain an important chapter on the Śaka Art and Architecture in India. Some of the inscriptions now added have not been published elsewhere.

Man by nature is restless and believing in expansion never remains stuck to one place. Human expansion has no barriers and this axiom holds true for all times. India was never land locked by the mountains; on the other hand Indians had intimate trade relations with West Asia and many other countries of the world.

The Śakas had invaded our country, limits of which were much farther off than the present borders, at a very late date, but Śakas in general as travellers, businessman etc., had direct and intimate relations not only with India, but with many more nations in the hoary past. Their rule in our country is an event of a much later date; it should not be a surprise to find mention of Śakas in our literature of a much earlier period. To unnecessarily equate reference to the Śakas in literature with their rule is a perverse imagination only to bring down the date of writings of our

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literature. The Śakas are mentioned in our literature dating back to almost 5000 years to the period of the Mahābhārata battle.

Herodotus, has left for posterity an enriched account of the Śakas. He believed the Śakas had been living long before Darius (526-486 B. C.) whose inscriptions, especially their Persian version, mention them as Śaka. Mention of Śakas in in the Mahābhārata is neither surprising nor misleading regarding the date of the Mahābhārata battle. The Śakas at that time were not ruling in the country but were positively present in India.

The Greek account, by Strabo, Arrian and Ptolemy, supplies coroborative evidence for Skythia or *Śaka Dvīpa*. *Śaka Dvīpa* was encircled by *Kshīroda Sāgara* according to the *Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata; Kshīroda Sāgara* is the present Caspian Sea. Similar are details recorded in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Twenty nine references from literature on Śakas have been recorded. The earliest reference is from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the latest is of *Hara-gauri-Saṁvāda*. These references from literature are about their varied aspects and bring to light different activities of the Śakas, in general, as well as of their rule in India. Mention of *Śakandhu, i.e.*, Śaka wells by Kātyāyana is of particular interest. Śakesar (p. 124) in the Raumaka range, famous for its salt quarters, forms part of that portion of the Panjab which is now in Pakistan. An inscription has been found at Maira well in this mountain range. Śakas are mentioned in literature related to *Āyurveda;* especially in *Charaka Saṁhitā* and *Ashtāñga Saṁgraha*. Their diet consisted of meat, wheat flour and *mādhvīka*. The reddish cheeks of Śaka women and Śaka lords, were due to the use of *palāṇḍu* or onion in their diet.

An interesting work, *Yuga Purāṇa* of *Gārgi Saṁhitā*, details at length the advent and depredations of the Śakas and their end. The tyranny of Śakas in general is narrated in it. (p. 17). *Yuga Purāṇa* has been edited by various scholars; the conclusions drawn about Śakas are uniform in all these editions.

Ruma or *Romaka* was a territory of the *Sindhus* according to *Purāṇas* and Alberuni. It denotes a saltish land according to Daṇḍanāth Nārāyana's commentary on *Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhāb haraṇa*. (p. 19).

The extermination of Śaka rulers by the Gupta's is well narrated in literature especially in a drama called *Devī Chandra Gupta*, which is based on the story of Queen Dhruvadevī being coveted by a Śaka king and Chandra Gupta asassinating that Śaka king and marrying Dhruvadevī who was the wife of his elder brother. This drama was translated into Arabic by Abul Hassan Ali (1026 A. D.) and titled *Majmal-ut-Twarikh* (p. 20).

Śaka authors like *Śakachella, Śakavarman, Śakavaridhi* are mentioned in Sanskrit anthologies (p. 23). Śakas married Indian ladies also. Nahapāna probably

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had an Indian wife and therefore their daughter Dakshamitrā was given an Indian name. Rudradāmā married his daugter to a Sātavāhana king. Rudaradharā Bhaṭṭārika, daughter of a *mahārājā* of Ujjain was married to an Indian prince of the Ikshvāku dynasty. An *Āyaka* pillar inscription from Nāgārjunakoṇda mentions the erection of a stone pillar at the *mahā-chaitya* by Mahādevī Rudradharā Bhaṭṭārika, for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness and *nirvāṇa*. (E.I. Vol. XX p. 19, B.5.).

In *Bhavishya Purāṇa* marriages between inhabitants of *Śaka Dvīpa* and Yādava Indians are mentioned. Prabhudāmā, sister of Rudrasena I was the chief queen of an Indian prince according to the seals found at Vaishālī (p. 81).

Inscriptions mention not only Śaka rulers but also refer to their relations with the people in general. This evidence forms part of the last chapter on Śaka Polity and Society. Śaka rulers were liberal towards their subjects regarding their religious practices. They never seem to have interferred with the religious feelings of their subjects.

The most important contribution in the present work is the chapter on the Śaka Era. It is positive that two Śaka era had been in use as evident from the literary references on Śaka era by Bhaṭṭa Utpala and Bhāskara, author of *Siddhānta Śiromaṇī* (p. 55-57). Inscriptional evidence fully corroborates the literary evidence. The earlier Śaka era had definitely started not later than 204 B. C. and the present Śaka era well known as the Śaka-Śālivāhana Era started with the extermination of the Śaka rulers in 77-78 B. C.

The material put forth for the Śaka era had evinced keen observation by late Dr. Sten Konow, who had expressed his opinion in his letter dated November 23, 1946, addressed to my late father, as :

> "I have read your son's work, 'Śakas in India' and we will all be thankful for the great care he has taken in putting the whole Indian material at our disposal so clearly. I am convinced that the future of Indian research can only be safeguarded if Indian and European scholars will work, hand in hand and with mutual regard and understanding. We in Europe will always be happy to collaborate in this way, and it is a good omen that an excellent Indian schalar like your son will partake in the work. It is not of course, to be expected that there will be a general agreement about the interpretation of all details, but it is essential that we should, on both sides, state our arguments and results as fully and clearly as possible.
>
> Everybody who has tried to elucidate Indian chronology will know how many difficulties still remain to be cleared up, and in the last few years a new and serious one has turned up through the discovery of a Parthian era of 245 B. C. It is a good thing that we have learnt that the Seleucid era was

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never used in India, but the Parthian has evidently played a greater role than we should have expected, and I am much obliged to your son in this connection for reminding me of the Girdharpur and Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā inscriptions. With regard to the well-known Śaka era of 79 A.D., I quite agree with him that it was not introduced by Kaniṣka, but is considerably older than his accession, which can hardly be put earlier than about the middle of the second century A.D. I am still convinced that the ruler who first used it was Wima Kadphises."

Two new chapters have been added to the present edition. Śaka rulers of Taxila and Mathura have now been mentioned in a new chapter. The Satraps of Taxila had ruled for a considerable time. Taxila at that time was a hot bed of wars necessitating change of rulers from one dynasty to the other. Such a political condition in Taxila at that time has created problem to sift rulers of different dynasties. Major problem has been about Azes who has been considered to be a Parthian ruler. He has also been considered as a Śaka Satrap of Taxila and at present the evidence is more in favour of the latter view, though it is not conclusive evidence. Possibly, Satraps of Mathura, had definite relationship with the satraps of Taxila. Mathura Lion Capital inscription and the Taxila Copper plate inscription, have the basic evidence for this fact.

For the past almost hundred years an interesting controversy has been created about these rulers. It has been avoided but basic information available about these rulers has been recorded in nut shell.

More inscriptional evidence is available about Śaka Satraps of Mathura, of whom Rājubula and Śoḍāsa appear to have been famous. At least eight inscriptions referring to Śoḍāsa are at present available and these have been added alongwith their texts and plates.

Kharaosta was probably the last Śaka Satrap of Mathura. Coins of a Satrap Kharaosta are also available. He is mentioned as son of Rājubula in the inscriptions, but his name sake is mentioned as son of Arla on the coins. This interesting situation can not find any solution at present and more material as and when discovered shall certainly help to solve this riddle.

A chapter on the 'Śaka Coinage' has also been added. Śaka coinage is mostly a continuation of the Indo-Greek currency. Coins of the Western Kshatrapas representing almost three hundred years of their rule is without parallel in the numismatics of ancient India. These coins were mostly of silver, but lead and copper coins have also been found. So far no gold coin has come to light. Selected coins of all the Śaka rulers of Gujarat, Mathura and Taxila have been mentioned alongwith their texts and plates. The plates of the coins do not conform to the actual size of them. The coins have been reproduced in their enlarged form in the plates so that their decipherment and study is easy for students of numismatics and Indologists.

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Similary, coin legends pieced together have also been described in the appendix and illustrated in the plates. This has been done to add to the usefulness of the present work. The present volume is not only a corpus of inscriptions, but a well planned departure from the normal such publications by including the coins with their texts and plates as well.

The last chapter on Śaka Polity and Society has been revised and enlarged. Details of excavations of Altai region of the U.S.S.R. have been described in brief. This chapter brings the Śakas much closer to the inhabitants of India who had the magic wand to absorb any invader of the country into their social and cultural fold. The Śakas who started penetrating into India as a commoner and later on as its rulers had never realised that time eternal will wipe out their separate entity, leaving it to posterity to completely forget their virile nature.

The present publication is the result of ungrudging help from different sources received from time to time. Shri B.K. Thapar, Director General, Archaeological Survey of India and other officers especially Shri K.G. Krishnan, Chief Epigraphist, have been very helpful, The Librarains of the Central Archaeological Library and others helped with books in the writing of it. Dr. C.M. Atri, Director, Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State, has been very prompt in supplying inscriptional material and literature and photographs about them. Even telephonic requests were promptly complied with. His ungrudging help at every stage could help to give this publication its present exhaustive and useful form. Dr. S.K. Bhowmick, Director of Museums, Gujarat State and the Curator of the Kutch Musem, Bhuj were extremely helpful for the supply of photographs etc. Miss. R. Vanaja, Keeper Numismatics and Epigraphy and Mrs. Shital Puri of the National Museum, New Delhi, deserve grateful thanks for their constant help.

This Corpus volume has been printed on the best available Sunlit Off-set paper and a superior quality Art Paper which has caused the present price of this book. I am deeply indebted to Shri V.P. Dhavan, of R.K. Printers and his devoted staff for the get up and fine printing of this festchrift.

Always seeking the close co-operation of colleagues and blessings of the Almighty God, it is hoped in near future similar volumes on other dynasties of India will be published for the scholars and students.

SATYA SHRAVA

December 6, 1980,
New Delhi.

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INTRODUCTION

In my third year class, I prepared a short bibliography of the lost Sanskrit dramas from stray references about them in Sanskrit Literature. Soon after finishing my B.A. examination, I began to prepare a Devanāgarī text of the inscriptions of the Western Kshatrapas. On examination the number of these inscriptions was found to be much less than expected. However, I went on with this work, and my interest grew in the subject. I then tried to note and collect the necessary literature concerning it. Meanwhile, I selected the present thesis for my M.A.

After securing and studying the available books and articles on the subject, I came to the conclusion that only a few scholars have done any pioneering work in this field of ancient Indian history. The names of Śrī Bhagvanlal Indraji, Prof. E.J. Rapson and Dr. Sten Konow will always be remembered with admiration by the future historians. 'The Catalogue of the Coins of the Āndhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas etc.' by Prof. Rapson and the 'Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions,' by Dr. Sten Konow are monumental works. The patience, the energy, the labour, the keen insight and deep erudition displayed by them are admirable. With their works as the basis of my study, I entered into this difficult and dry subject.

Another scholar who has worked in this field of research was Śrī K.P. Jayaswal. It was he who brought to light the war of Nahapāna with a Śātavāhana king from a Jain source. He showed that Bharukaccha was the capital of Nahapāna. The Yuga-purāṇa of the Gārgī Saṁhitā, an important source on this subject, only noticed by H. Kern, was edited for the first time by Śrī Jayaswal. It has proved very useful for a reconstruction of the history of the period.

Besides these works a large number of scholars have been contributing from time to time most important articles in various research journals. I have used them in their proper places, acknowledging my debt.

Some recent works and articles have proved very useful. Dr. Sten Konow while revising the period has thrown a new light on the subject in his article, 'Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology.' The 'Data of Nahapāna' as discussed by V.R. Deoras in his article (Proceedings Indian History Congress, Lahore session) is worth study. The laborious work of Dr. K. Gopalachari, 'The Early History of the Andhra Country,' supplies a summary of the different aspects of the reigns of Nahapāna, Caṣṭana and Rudradāman I.

The ancient Indian tradition is very useful in filling up some of the important details. Most of it so far lies unexplored. Twenty seven references from

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this source of Indian history have been collected here. Of all these the *gāthās* of Tiloya Paṇṇatti have been of most help. These *gāthās* were first printed by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal in his introduction to 'The Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Central Provinces and Berar (1926).' The attention of scholars was not attracted to this rare source for a long time. It was in the Hindi History of Bharatavarsha by Pandit Bhagavad Datta that the *gāthās* were fully utilized and their importance was emphasized. According to R.B. Hira Lal and other scholars this work was composed in the latter part of the 5th century A D. The duration of the reigns of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana and the family of Caṣṭana are all recorded in these *gāthās*.

Important information from tradition has been made available in this thesis. Many of these references were unknown so far. Some of them are noted below, e.g.,

(i) Presence of the Śakas in the Indus region at the time of Duryodhana referred to in Majmal-ut-Twarikh; (p. 2)

(ii) The derivation of the work Śaka according to the Purānas; (p. 3f)

(iii) Reference to the food of the Śakas in the Caraka saṁhitā; (p. 15)

(iv) Mention of Śaka-wells (Śaka-andhu) by Pāṇini; (p. 16)

(v) The word Romaka and its explanation.

(vi) The Śaks Era. A lot of new material on this point has been presented in this thesis. Alberuni's statement that the Śaka era was started at the death of a Śaka tyrant gave me the impetus to search for the source of his information. This information has been traced to be contained in astronomical works which go back from Alberuni's time to 628 A.D.

Moreover both inscriptional and literary proofs have been given to substantiate the view put forward that there were two Śaka eras one starting from the beginning of the Śaka rule and the other started by a Śakāri Vikrama at the expiry of the Śakas; (p. 35 ff; now p. 39 ff.)

(vii) A suitable explanation of the name 'Kardamaka kings' has been suggested; (p. 68; now p. 69 ff.)

(viii) The reference to Śakāri Vikrama will be found useful in Chapter VII.

The history of the Western Kṣatrapas, after the rule of Rudradāman I is very obscure. I have only collected notes about them from the writings of Śrī Bhagvanlal Indraji, Prof. Rapson and others. With the scanty material available more than this was not possible.

In Chapter IX an attempt has been made to collect only new points about the various customs of the Śakas. Dr. K. Gopalachari and others have made attempts to throw light on this aspect of the history of the Śakas also. Anyhow, the material presented here from Sanskrit sources is quite now.

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Recently it has been felt that a text of all the inscriptions of the various dynasties should be published in one place. Realizing the importance of the need, a devanāgarī text of all the inscriptions of the Western Kshatrapas has been given in the appendix. Three inscriptions could not be included in this list as their text was not easy of access. Other appendices will also prove useful.

The thesis In its printed form is revised and enlarged. My sincere thanks are due to my respected teacher the Rev. Ross Wilson, the then Head of the Department of History, University of the Punjab, who has corrected me in so many places and has given me valuable suggestions ungrudgingly.

I am very thanful to Dr. A.L. Śrivastava, now Head of the Department of History, University of the Panjab, who has been and is always encouraging and guiding me in research work and Prof. R.R. Sethi, Punjab University Lecturer in History for some of his suggestions.

I acknowledge my sincere indebtedness to Pt. Vishvanath, my school-teacher in history, who has gone through the thesis and given many valuable suggestions and Pt. Bhagavad Datta, Dirrector, Vedic Research Institute, who has given me the insight to find out material from ancient Indian literature to construct Indian history.

I offer my sincerest thanks to Miss C.L.H. Geary, Principle, Lahore College for Women for seeing the book through the press. Many of her suggestions were extremely valluable.

The fine get-up of the book in these hard days is due to the loving care of L. Khazanchi Ram Jain, Proprietor, Messrs Meharchand Lachman Das. The book would not have seen the light of day but for his ungrudging help in printing it.

SATYA SHRAVA

Department of History
University of the Punjab, Lahore.
December 29, 1946.

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CONTENTS

PREFACE (iii)

INTRODUCTION (viii)

CHAPTER ONE: THE ŚAKAS 1

(i) Antiquity of the Śaka Tribe 1

(ii) The name Śaka and its meaning 3

(iii) The original home of the Śakas—the Greek account 4

(iv) The Sanskrit account 5

(v) Expansion of the Śaka Tribe 8

CHAPTER TWO: THE ŚAKAS IN LITERATURE 11

(i) The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki 12

(ii) The Mahābhārata 12

(iii) The Bhṛgu Saṁhita 13

(iv) The Purāṇas 13

(v) Kāśyapa Saṁhitā and Parāśara Saṁhitā 15

(vi) Charaka Saṁhita 15

(vii) Gaṇapāṭha of Pāṇini 16

(viii) Kāśikā of Jayāditya 16

(ix) Kātyāyana's Vārtika 16

(x) Patañjali's Mahābhāshya 16

(xi) Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata-Muni 16

(xii) Yuga Purāṇa of Gārgī Saṁhitā 17

(xiii) Paumacariya of Vimalasūri 17

(xiv) Ashṭāñga Saṁgraha of Vāgabhaṭṭa 18

(xv) Pādatāḍitakam of Mahākavi Śyāmilaka 18

(xvi) Gāthās of Tiloya Paṇṇatti 18

(xvii) Jyotirvidābharaṇa 19

(xviii) Devī-Chandragupta of Viśākhadeva 20

(xix) Harsha-charita of Bāṇa 21

(xx) Brahma-sphuṭa-siddhānta 21

(xxi) Rāma-charita of Abhinanda 21

(xxii) Mañju-śrī-mūla-kalpa 22

(xxiii) Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi of Vardhamāna 22

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(*xxiv*) Rājatrañgiṇi of Kalhaṇa 22
(*xxv*) Sadūkti-Karṇāmṛta 22
(*xxvi*) Prabhāvaka-charita of Prabhāchandra 23
(*xxvii*) Kumārapāla-charita of Jayasiṁhasūri 23
(*xxviii*) Bṛhaddeśī of Mātañga-Muni 24
(*xxix*) Hara Gaurī Saṁvāda 24

CHAPTER THREE: THE ŚAKAS IN INSCRIPTIONS[1] 25

CHAPTER FOUR: THE ŚAKA ERA 39

(*i*) Different names of the Śaka Era 39
(*ii*) Rapson and the current Śaka Era 44
(*iii*) Rapson's view contradicted 45
(*iv*) Meaning of Śaka-Nṛpa-Kālātīta-Saṁvatsara 49
(*v*) Further Evidence 52
(*vi*) Śaka Era and Kālakāchārya Kathānaka 52
(*vii*) Two Śaka Eras 54
(*viii*) Indian tradition on Śaka era 55
(*ix*) Date of Bhāskara 56
(*xi*) Date of Nahapāna 57
(*xii*) Analysis of these views 59
(*xiii*) The starting point of the earlier Śaka era 59

CHAPTER FIVE: THE KSHAHARĀTAS 61

(*i*) Bhūmaka 62
(*ii*) Nahapāna 63
(*iii*) Ushavadāta 66
(*iv*) Ayama 68

CHAPTER SIX: THE CHASHTANA DYNASTY 69

(*A*) The Kardamaka Kings 69
(*i*) Mahākshatrapa Chashṭana 71
(*ii*) Jayadāman 73

[1] For text of inscriptions, and the corresponding numbers of plates see Appendix E of the CONTENTS.

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(*B*) The Rise of the Chashṭanas 74
(*iii*) Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman I 74
(*iv*) Dāmaghsada (Dāmajadaśri) I 78
(*v*) Mahākshatrapa Jīvadāman 79
(*vi*) Mahākshatrapa Rudrasiṁha I 79
(*vii*) Kshatrapa Satyadāman 80
(*viii*) Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena I 81
(*ix*) Kshatrapa Prithivīsena 82
(*x*) Mahākshatrapa Saṅghadāman 82
(*xi*) Mahākshatrapa Dāmasena 82
(*xii*) Kshhtrapa Dāmajadaśrī II 82
(*xiii*) Kshatrapa Vīradāman 82
Mahākshatrapa Īśvaradatta 83
(*xiv*) Mahākshatrapa Yośoḍāman I 84
(*xv*) Mahākshatrapa Vijayasena 84
(*xvi*) Mahākshatrapa Dāmajadaśrī III 84
(*xvii*) Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena II 84
(*xviii*) Mahākshatrapa Viśvasiṁha 85
(*xix*) Mahākshatrapa Bhartṛdāman 85
(*xx*) Kshatrapa Viśvasena 85

CHAPTER SEVEN : DOWNFALL OF THE CHASHTANAS 86
(*i*) Śakāri Vikramāditya 87

CHAPTER SEVEN : THE LATER ŚAKAS 89
(*i*) Kshatrapa Rudrasiṁha II 89
(*ii*) Kshatrapa Yaśodāman 89
(*iii*) Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Rudradāman II 90
(*iv*) Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Rudrasena III 90
(*v*) Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Siṁhasena 90
(*vi*) Mahākshatrapa Svāmi (Rudra) Sena IV 91
(*vii*) Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Satyasiṁha 91
(*viii*) Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Rudrasiṁha III 91

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CHAPTER NINE : OTHER ŚAKA SATRAPAL RULERS 92

(A) ŚAKA SATRAPS OF TAXILĀ 93

(*i*) Maues 93

(*ii*) Azes 93

(*iii*) Dāmijada or Nāmijada 94

(*iv*) Liaka Kusulaka 94

(*v*) Patika 94

(B) ŚAKA SATRAPS OF MATHURĀ 94

(*i*) Rājubula 95

(*ii*) Śoḍāsa 96

(*iii*) Kharaosta 97

CHAPTER TEN : THE ŚAKA COINAGE 99

(*i*) Coins of Kshaharātas 100

(*ii*) Coins of Western Kshatrapas 101

(*iii*) Coins of Satraps of Taxilā 105

(*iv*) Coins of Satraps of Mathurā 108

CHAPTER ELEVEN : ŚAKA POLITY AND SOCIETY 110

(*i*) Recent Excavations 110

(*ii*) The Country under the Śaka Rule 111

(*a*) Economic Life 112

(*iii*) Śaka Administration 113

(*a*) Law of succession 113

(*b*) The King 114

(*c*) State Officials 114

(*d*) Svāmins 114

(*e*) Soldiers 114

(*iv*) Śaka Society 115

(*a*) Marriage 115

(*b*) Physiognomy 115

(*c*) Friendship 116

(*d*) Food and Drink 116

(*e*) Language 116

(*f*) Pronounciation 118

(*v*) Religious Customs 118

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GENEALOGICAL TABLE OE THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS 121

APPENDICES 122

A. ŚŪDRAKA VIKRAMA : A HISTORICAL KING 122

B. ŚAKAHŪSHU AND ŚAKAHVARTHAM IN THE MAHĀBHĀSHYA 123

C. THE ANCIENT VAṀŚĀVALIS 123

D. THE WORD RAUMAKA OR ROMAKA 124

E. TEXT OF INSCRIPTIONS : 125

(*i*) Nasik cave inscription of Ushavadāta PL. I 125

(*ii*) Nasik cave inscription of Ushavadāta PL. II 125

(*iii*) Nasik cave inscription of Ushavadāta PL. III-*a* 126

(*iv*) Nasik cave inscription of Ushavadāta PL. III-*b* 126

(*v*) Nasik cave inscription of Ushavadāta PL. IV 126

(*vi*) Karle cave inscription of Mitradevaṇaka PL. V 126

(*vii*) Karle cave inscription of Ushavadāta PL. VI-*a* 127

(*viii*) Junar cave inscription of Ayama PL. VII-*b* 127

(*ix*) Nāsīk cave inscription of Ābhīra Iśvarasena PL. VII 127

(*x*) Nasik cave inscription of Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Pulumāvī PL. VIII 127

(*xi*) Nasik cave inscription of Śaka Dāmichaka PL. IX-*a* 128

(*xii*) Nasik cave inscription of Śaka Dāmichaka PL. IX-*b* 128

(*xiii*) Mathura Lion Capital inscription PL. X-*a*, X-*b*, X-*c* 129

(*xiv*) Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā votive tablet PL. XI-*a* 129

(*xv*) Inscription of Śoḍāsa PL. XI-*b* 129

(*xvi*) Inscription of Śoḍāsa PL. XII-*a* 130

(*xvii*) Mirjapur inscription of Śoḍāsa PL. XIII 130

(*xviii*) A new inscription of Śoḍāsa PL. XIV 130

(*xix*) Inscription of a Śaka from Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā PL. XII-*b* 130

(*xx*) Inscription of the son of Rājubula PL. XXXIX 130

(*xxi*) Girdharapur Jitlā inscription PL. XV 131
Mathura inscription of Kshatrapa Ghaṭāka PL. XVI

(*xxii*) Inscription of a Kshatrapa from Mathurā PL. XXXVIII 131

(*xxiii*) Mathurā Mora well inscription PL. XVII 131

(*xxiv*) Taxila Copper Plate : Year 78 PL. XVIII 131

(*xxv*) Andhau inscription of Chashṭana : year 11 PL. XIX 131

(*xxvi*) Khāvḍā (Andhau) inscription of Rudradāman : Year (5)3 PL. XX 132

(*xxvii*) Andhau inscription of Chashṭana and Rudradāman PLS. XXI and XXII 132

(*xxviii*) Junāgarh rock inscription of Rudradāman PL. XXIII 133
Brick inscription from Ujjain PL. XXIV

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(*xxix*) Gunḍā inscription of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasiṁna I	PL. XXV	134
(*xxx*) Vāṇḍh inscription of Rudrasiṁha I	PL. XXVI	135
(*xxxi*) Andhau inscription of Rudrasiṁha I	PL. XXVII	135
(*xxxii*) Kaṇheri Leṇā inscription	PL. XXXVI-*b*	135
(*xxxiii*) Junāgarh inscription of Jayadāman's Grand-son	PL. XXVIII	135
(*xxxiv*) Junāgarh inscription of Jīvadāman I	PL. XXIX	135
(*xxxv*) Mūlvāsara stone inscription of Rudrasena I	PL. XXX	135
(*xxxvi*) Gaḍhā inscription of Rudrasena I	PL. XXXI	136
(*xxxvii*) Iṇṭwā Clay sealing of Rudrasena	PL. XXXII-*a*	136
(*xxxviii*) Kānākherā inscription of Svāmi Jīvadāman	PL. XXXII-*b*	136
(*xxxix*) Eraṇ Stone pillar inscription of Śrīdharavarma	PL. XXXIII	136
(*xl*) Inscription of Iśvaradeva Ābhīra	PL. XXXIV	137
(*xli*) Mevasa inscription of Bhartridāman; Year 205	PL. XXXV	137
(*xlii*) Goṇḍala inscription of the time of Rudrasena III : 272	PL. XXXVI-*a*	137
(*xliii*) Devni Mori Relic Casket inscription of Rudrasena	PL. XXXVII	138
(*xliv*) Junar Cave inscription of Śaka Aḍuthuma		138
(*xlv*) Amarāvati inscription of a Śaka	PL. XL-*a*	138
(*xlvi*) Nāgārjunakoṇḍa epigraph of a Śaka		138
(*xlvii*) Chandravalli inscription of Mayūraśarman		139
(*xlviii*) Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta		139
(*xlix*) Bargaon Grant of Ratnapāla		139
(*l*) Saindhava Copper Plate Grant No. A		139
(*li*) Shahdaur inscription of Dāmijada	PL. XLI	139
(*lii*) Pillar inscription of a Mahākshatrapa from Pauni	PL. XLII	139
(*liii*) Fragmentary stone inscription from Patanvav	PL. XLIII	140
(*liv*) Inscription of a Mahākshatrapa from Mathura	PL. XL-*b*	140
(*lv*) Inscription of Rudradāmaśri	PL. XLIV	141
Andhau inscription of a Kshatrapa (?)	PL. LIV	
F. TRANSLITERATION OF COIN LEGENDS	PLS. LI—LIII	141
G. BIBLIOGRAPHY		144
H. INDEX		151
I. PLATES OF INSCRIPTIONS	I—XLIV and LIV	
J. PLATES OF COINS	PLS XLV—LI	

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CHAPTER ONE

THE ŚAKAS

I. ANTIQUITY OF THE ŚAKA TRIBE

Śakas are known to have existed in history from a very early time. They are mentioned in the Behistun (Bistun), Persepolis, Hamadan and Naqsh-i-Rustūm inscriptions of Darius or Dārayavahush.[1] This king is assigned to 526-486 B.C. His inscriptions are found in three versions. The Persian version has preserved the word Śaka exactly as it is found in Sanskrit. On the authority of Herodotus, we also know that the Śakas are earlier than the time of Darius. Herodotus writes: 'the Scythians before the time of Darius conquered the Medes' and "became masters of Asia."[2] According to this same author, the Śakas were known during the time of Sesostris, a king of Egypt, who also preceded Darius.[3] Herodotus has another definite piece of information on this point. He writes: 'Scythians add that from the time of their first king to the invasion of their country by Darius is a period of one thousand years neither less nor more.'[4]

It may, therefore, be safely concluded that if the date which is proposed for Darius, *i.e.*, 526-486 B.C. is regarded as true, then the Śakas appeared in the history of nations from about 1500 B.C.

The source of this information of Herodotus could not have been faulty. Perhaps, it may have been that the first king of a

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[1] Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization, Vol. I, ed. by D.C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1942, pp. 4-11.

[2] The History of Herodotus, Book I, Chap. 104, Everyman's Library Series, Tr. by G. Rawlinson, London, 1933.

[3] Ibid, Book II, Chap. 110.

[4] Ibid, Book IV, Chap. 7.

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particular tribe of the Śakas, whose family ruled without break for 1000 years, was installed at that date. The Śakas are placed centuries before this date by Sanskrit works. As detailed in Chapter II, the mercenary Śaka soldiers fought on the side of Duryodhana in the battle of *Mahābhārata*. If this statement be regarded as true, and there is no cogent reason to disbelieve it, it should be remembered that the Śaka tribe existed before circa 3102 B.C., a date proposed for the *Bhārata* battle on very sound grounds. Not this alone, but the *Mahābhārata* also states that Pahlavas, Barbaras, Kirātas, Yavanas and Śakas lived in the delta (of Sindhu).[1]

The fact that Śakas or a sub-clan of this tribe existed in the Indus region at the time of Duryodhana is further supported by an interesting piece of information from an entirely different source, Majmal-ut-Twārikh, a work in Persian (of circa the 12th century A.D.), which is a translation of an Arabic work of circa 1026 A.D. which again was a translation of an ancient Sanskrit text and contains the following account :

"The Jats and Meds dwelt in Sind (on the banks) of the river which is called Bahar. These two tribes used to quarrel with each other very often, to enfeeble and to have ascendency over the other. Once they both being advised by a Jat chief approached the king Dayushe (Duryodhana) and begged him to nominate a person to rule over him."[2]

It is, further stated that Duḥśalā, the sister of Duryodhana was married to Jayadratha, the king of Sind, who was appointed as the ruler.

These Jats are no other than the Massagetae (the Great Getae) mentioned in Diodorus[3] as an off-spring of the ancient Śaka tribe. The Jats and Śakas belonged to the same original Caspian type, a

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[1] सागर कुक्षिस्थ, Sabhā Parva 29.15, Poona ed.

[2] The History of India as told by its own Historians, Mohammedan Period, Elliot and Dowson, 1867, Vol. I, p. 104.

[3] Book II, Chap. 43.

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fact now well known.[1] Colonel James Tod had shown long ago the oneness of the Sakas with the later Getes, the Jotes, the Jits, the Goths and the Jetas.[2]

These Jats and Medes living in Sind at such an early date must have had intercourse with some other western tribes now extinct. The excavations at Mohenjo-daro have revealed the traces of four such ancient races; the Proto Australoid, Mediterranean, Mongolian, and Alpine[3] who lived in that city of Sind with other peoples at a period anterior to 2500 B.C.

The Śakas, therefore, have been known in Indian history from at least 3102 B.C., the period of the *Mahābhārata* war.

II. THE NAME ŚAKA AND ITS MEANING

Greek writers have thrown no light on the origin of this name. It is only through a study of the *Purāṇas* that we come across their origin. Some *Purāṇas* state that this land had once a network of some rivers and their tributaries had the shape of a Śaka or a teak tree.[4] In India the word *Sāgavāna* a corruption of Sanskrit Śaka is used even up to this day for the teak tree. This may also mean that the delta of some rivers of this land had this shape. *Matsya Purāṇa* says that there was a Śaka mountain in the Śakadvīpa, and hence the name of this land.[5] This mountain may have been rich in the growth of Śaka trees. On the other hand, in various Sanskrit *Koshas* or dictionaries we can trace its meaning as a tree,[6] an island,[7] a *kshatrīya*,[7] a country,[8] a tribe,[9] and a king.

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[1] Ancient Races and Myths, C. Chakraberty, Calcutta, p. VII.
[2] Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Popular Edition, 1914, pp. 49-53.
[3] The Indus Civilization, E. Mackay, London 1935, p. 200.
[4] Vāyu, Chapters 49, 88 and 89.
[5] Matsya, 123, 36.
[6] Viśvaprakāśa Kosha, p.5, sl.35.
[7] Ibid; Nānārthaśabda Kosha, p. 3, sl. 36; Nānārthasaṃgraha, p.87, sl. 36, Madrased.
[8] Viśvaprakāśa Kosha, p. 4, 25.
[9] Nānārthaśabda Kosha, p. 3, sl. 35, ed. by Jīvānanda.

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III. THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE ŚAKAS — THE GREEK ACCOUNT

Herodotus[1] gives a vivid description of Scythia :

"99. Before you come to Scythia, on the sea coast, lies Thrace. The land here makes a sweep, and then Scythia begins, the Ister (Danube) falling into the sea at this point with its mouth facing the east."

"100. Beyond this tract, we find the Scythians again in possession of the country above the Tauri and the parts bordering on the eastern sea, as also of the whole district lying west of the Cimmerian Bosphorus and the Palus Maeotis (the sea of Azof), as far as the river Tanais, which empties itself into that lake at its upper end. . ."

"101. Scythia, then, which is square in shape and has two of its sides reaching down to the sea, extends inland to the same distance that it stretches along this coast, and is equal every way."

Diodorus of Sicily[2] (circa 57 B.C.) informs us that the Scythians were already 'inhabiting the country bordering upon India.' "This people originally possessed little territory, but later, as they gradually increased in power, they seized much territory.... At first, then, they dwelt in the Araxes (The Aras) river, but since acquired territory in the mountains as far as the Caucasus, and in the Steppes along the ocean and lake Maeotis (the sea of Azof) and in the rest of that country as far as the Tanais river."

The latter part of the description of Diodorus is practically the same as that of Herodotus. But, during his own time or a little before him, the Śakas had already extended their territory towards the borders of India. This territory was named Seistān or Śakasthāna.

Strabo has a general remark to offer on this point. He says, "All the tribes east of the Caspian are called Scythic. The Dahae

[1] The History of Herodotus, Book IV.
[2] Book II, 43

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next the sea, the Massagetae (Great Getae) and Sacae more eastward....."[1]

IV. THE SANSKRIT ACCOUNT

The *Purāṇas*[2] present a vivid description of Śakadvīpa. Their account appears to be older than the Greek one, because according to them this people was highly civilized. The *Mahābhārata* also describes the Śaka sub-continent. Nundo Lal De has compared the name of some of the provinces, states or *janapadas*, rivers and mountains of the Śakadvīpa as found in the *Mahābhārata* and *Vishṇu Purāṇa* with the same as found in Ptolemy's description of Skythia.[3] These are mentioned below:

Śākadvīpa	*Skythia*
	Countries (Varshas)
Kumuda	Inhabited by the Komedai (a mountain district called Komedorum Montes by the Greeks) between the source of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. Komedorum Montes is the Tsunghing mountain of Hiuen Tsiang ; see Kiu-mi-to in Beal's RWC., Vol. I, p. 41.
Sukumāra	Komaroi.
Jalada	Golaktophagoi.
Jalandhara	Salateroi (p. 268) or the Zaratoi (p. 288).
	Countries (Janapada)
Mṛiga	Margine or Margiana, present Merv (Bretschneider's *Mediaeval Researches*, vol. II, p. 103).
Masaka	Massagetai.
Mandaga	Makhaitegoi.

[1] Strabo XI, p. 254.
[2] Matsya 122, 3-34; Vāyu 49, 74-99.
[3] Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, ed. by McCrindle, reprinted by Saurendranath Majumdar Sastri, Calcutta, 1927.

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Rivers

Sītā	The Syr-daria or the Jaxartes (*daria* means river).
Chakshuvarddhana	The Oxos or the Oxus.
Kumārī	The Rha or the Volga.

Mountains

Meru	Mt. Imaus.
Malaya	Alana mountain.
Śyāma-giri	Kaukasos Mount (including the Beloortag and the Mustag mountain which means the Black mountain. It is identical with Mount Syāmaka of the *Avesta* (Yast. XIX, 5 : SBE., Vol. XXIII, p. 288).[1]
Vishṇu Purāṇa, pt. II, ch. 4	*Ptolemy* (McCrindle's translation, pp. 283-87).

Countries

Kusumoda	Inhabited by the Khorasmai (p. 282).
Maudādī	Inhabited by the Mardyenoi (p. 281).

River

Ikshu	The Oxos.

Mountain

Asta-gīri	Aska-tangka (*tangka* means mountain, p. 285).
Durga Śaila	The El Burz mountain, as both the words *Durga* and *Burz* mean a fort (see my *Rasātala* or the *Under-World* in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vols. I ff.).

Town

Mārkaṇḍa	Samarkand (p. 274), the capital of Sogdo or Sogdiana, called Maracanda (Bretschneider's *Mediaeval Researches*, II, p. 58 ; McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 40).

[1] स्यामकस्च Yast. Zamyāt Yaśt Karta i. 5, Avesta, Vol. II, p. 656, ed. by Kanga and Sontakke, Vedic Samśodhana Maṇḍala, 1962.

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"It should be noted that in Sākadvīpa, the river Hiraṇvatī (the river of gold) mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (VI, ch. 8), forming the boundary of the country of the Suparṇas or Garuḍas, is evidently Zarafshan, the (distributor of gold). It is the river Hāṭaki-Nadī of Rasātala of the Bhāgavata (V, Ch. 24). It rises in the Fan-tau mountains and falls into Kara-Kul lake."[1]

Saffron grows on Persian mountains even today.

All the ancient Sanskrit sources agree that the river Vakshu or Oxus passed through the Śakadvīpa.[2] The *Matsya Purāṇa* states that Vakshu or Chakshu takes a westernly course.[3] So also states the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki.[4]

The *Mahābhārata* states that the Kshīroda Sāgara[5] or the Caspian Sea was encircled in parts by the Śakadvīpa.[6]

The *Vāyu Purāṇa* preserves a slightly different reading which means that the Kshīroda encircled the Śakadvīpa.[7] The *Vāyu Purāṇa* also adds that Śakadvīpa touched Dadhi (or Dahae of the

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1 See the word Śākadvīpa, p. 172-173, The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, Nundo Lal De, 3rd ed., 1971.

2 (i) सान्ध्रांस्तुषारान् लम्पाकान्पह्लवान्दरदाञ्छकान् ।
एताञ्जनपदाञ्चक्षुः प्लावयन्ती गतोदधिम् ।। Vāyu 47, 44

(ii) तुषारान्बर्बराकारान्पह्लवान्पारदाञ्छकान् ।
एताञ्जनपदाञ्चक्षुः प्लावयित्वोदधिं गता ।। Matsya 121, 45

3 121, 40

4 सुचक्षुश्चैव सीता च सिन्धुश्चैव महानदी । Bālakāṇḍa 43, 14

5 Marco Polo refers to the Caspian Sea as Shirwan which appears to be the later form of the earlier name Kshiroda Sāgara, Marco Polo, ed. by Sir Henry Yule, Vol. I, p. 59.

6 शाकद्वीपं च वक्ष्यामि यथावदिह पार्थिव ।
.....
क्षीरोदो भरतश्रेष्ठ येन संपरिवारितः ।। Bhīshma Parva, 12. 8-9, Poona ed.

7 क्षीरोदेन समुद्रेण सर्वतः परिवारितः ।
शाकद्वीपस्तु विस्तारात्समेन तु समन्ततः ।। Vāyu 49, 99

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Greeks) and Manḍodaka (or the Median ?) Sea.[1] The *Matsya Purāṇa* says that the Śakadvīpa encircled the Lavaṇa sea.[2] The *Mahābhārata* says that the Mṛgas, a part of the Śakadvīpa, or the people of the Margiana, were *brāhmaṇas*[3] and the Maśakas or the Massagetae were *kshatrīyas* or warriors.[4] So also *vaiśyas* and *śūdras* lived in other parts of the Śaka land. Compare with this the statement of Herodotus :

"The intermediate space was occupied by the Husbandmen (Georgi) or agricultural Scythians."[5] This fact is corroborated by *Vāyu Purāṇa*,[6] where it is said that the different kingdoms of the Śaka land were inhabited by people of the four castes. This account of the Śakas in the *Mahābhārata* depicts a very early phase in the life of this tribe.

These once civilized tribes of the Śakadvīpa became nomadic and uncultured long before the time of Herodotus and even during the time of the *Mahābhārata* war, for it is recorded there that these once *kshatrīya* tribes became degraded for want of *brāhmaṇa* preachers.[7]

V. EXPANSION OF THE ŚAKA TRIBE

As mentioned above, a small band of the Śakas inhabited a portion of the Indus region at the time of Duryodhana.[8] In course

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[1] परिवार्य समुद्रं च दधिमण्डोदकं स्थितः ॥ Vāyu 49, 75

[2] तेनाऽऽवृतः समुद्रोऽयं द्वीपेन लवणोदधिः ॥ Matsya 122, 3

[3] तत्र पुण्या जनपदाश्चत्वारो लोकसंमताः ।
मगाश्च मशकाश्चैव मानसा मन्दगास्तथा ॥ Bhīshma Parva, 12.33

[4] मगा ब्राह्मणभूयिष्ठाः स्वकर्मनिरता नृप ।
मशकेषु तु राजन्या धार्मिकाः सर्वकामदाः ॥ Ibid, 12.34

[5] History of Ancient Geography, by E. H. Bunbury, 1883, p. 185 ; Herodotus IV, 18.

[6] (i) तत्र पुण्या जनपदाश्चातुर्वर्ण्यसमन्विताः । Vāyu 49, 90.
(ii) तत्र पुण्या जनपदाश्चातुर्वर्ण्यसमन्विताः ॥ Matsya 122, 28.

[7] शका यवनकाम्भोजास्तास्ताः क्षत्रियजातयः ।
वृषलत्वं परिगता ब्राह्मणानामदर्शनात् ॥ Anuśāsana Parva, 33.19.

[8] pp. 2-3.

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of time more Śaka hordes came to these regions, and the whole region was then called by the name of Indo-Scythia or the region of Sindhu Śakas. To the Greeks this name was well known. They speak of the Indo-Scythians and their country Indo-Scythia. According to Ptolemy,[1] this territory of the Śakas extended on both sides of the Indus from the Kabul river to the Arabian Sea. Arrian in his Indika writes :

"The Indus in like manner makes an Indian delta, which is not inferior in area to the Egyptian, and is called in the Indian tongue Pattala."[2]

The commentator of these lines does not appear to have grasped the meaning of the word Pāttāla and considering its Sanskrit equivalent as mere mythology, has attempted to explain it as: "Pattala—The name of the Delta was properly Pātalene, and Pātala was its capital. This was situated at the head of the Delta, where the western stream of the Indus bifurcated. Thatha has generally been regarded as its modern representative, but General Cunningham would "almost certainly" identify it with Nirankol or Haidarābād, of which Pātalpur and Pātasila (flat rock) were old appellations. With regard to the name Pātala he suggests that "it may have been derived from Pātala, the trumpet flower" (*Bignonia suaveolens*), "in allusion to the trumpet shape of the province included between the eastern and western branches of the mouth of the Indus, as the two branches as they approach the sea curve outward like the mouth of a trumpet." Ritter, however, says :

"Pātāla is the designation bestowed by the Brāhmans on all the provinces in the west towards sunset, in antithesis to Prasiaka (the eastern realm) in Ganges-land : for Pātāla is the mythological name in Sanskrit of the under-world, and consequently of the land of the west." Arrian's estimate of the magnitude of the Delta is somewhat excessive. The length of its base, from the Pitti to the Kori mouth, was less than 1000 stadia, while that of the Egyptian Delta was 1300."[3]

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[1] VII. I. 55, 62.
[2] Ancient India, Megasthenese and Arrian, p. 187, McCrindle, Calcutta ed., 1926.
[3] Ibid.

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The Indus-delta was called Patalene (or Pātāla ?), the country to the North and North East Abiria and the South-Eastern province Syrastiene, *i.e.*, Surāshṭra. Ptolemy again remarks "and in the island formed by the river (Indus) are these towns, Patala, Barberi." Dionysius Periegeta,[1] speaks about the Southern Scythians as settled on the Indus and his commentator Eustathius states that by the words Southern Scythians, the Indo-Scythians are meant.

In the Periplus (assigned date 40 A.D.) Scythia, *i.e.*, Indo-Scythia is spoken of as being under Parthian rule. It appears, at that time (*i.e.* in the 2nd half of the 1st century A.D.), Indo-Scythia had come under the rule of the Parthians.

The possible conclusion from the above statements is that the stronghold of the Scythians was in the Indus region, especially in the lower Indus region, and that the Śaka conquest had been effected long before the 2nd half of the 1st century A.D.

Śakasthāna doubtless included the district of Scythia, mentioned in the Periplus, from which flows the river Sinthus (Indus), the greatest of all the rivers that flows into the Erythrean Sea (Indian Ocean). The metropolis of Scythia in the time of the Periplus was Minnagar; and its market town was Barbaricum on the seashore.[2]

The name of the capital of Scythia and of the kingdom of Mambarus (Nambanus?) in the time of the Periplus was Minnagar, and this was evidently derived from the city of Min in Śakasthāna mentioned by Isidor.[3] According to another fact which has been recently gaining support, 'the region of Chakansur, just to the west of the Bolan Pass, has been reclaimed as one of the important centres of the ancient Śakasthāna.'[4]

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[1] V, 1088.

[2] Political History of Ancient India, p. 362, 4th ed.

[3] Quoted in Journal Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1915, p. 830.

[4] Geographical Journal, 1934, p. 356, as quoted in Indian Culture, Vol. V, p. 117.

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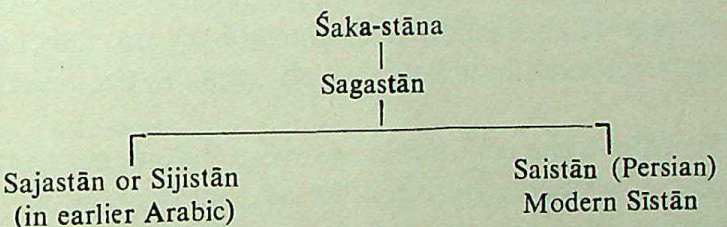
A Śaka empire in the Indus country and even beyond it, is known to have-existed from other classical sources. Ptolemy speaks of the extension of Śaka power to Kathiawar. The use of the imperial title King of Kings (*Shāhānushāhī*) among the Śakas is attested by coins.[1] The *Purāṇas*[2] speak of Śaka kings as the successors of the Gardabhilla dynasty in Ujjain.

As such, a Śaka empire, with the emperors using the title 'King of Kings' (*Shāhānushāhī*) existed in the Indus country some time before the establishment of the Vikrama Era or even long before it. Its centre of gravity seems to have been on the western shores of the lower Indus.

Dr. L.D. Barnett suggests[3] the following gradual variations of the word Śakasthāna :



This Sīstān spread to the Indus river, and from their Indus abode, the Śakas were taken to Kathiawar by the Jain Āchārya Kālaka. They settled in western India and there founded a kingdom of their own. From that place they penetrated into middle India as far as Mathurā, to Jabalpur,[4] and up to the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[5] (Srīparvata) territory in the eastern Deccan. After a rule of about three centuries they were subdued by the Guptas and in course of time were fully absorbed by the original inhabitants of the country.

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1 Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, pt. I, p. XXVII.

2 सप्त गर्दभिला भूयो भोक्ष्यन्तीमां वसुन्धराम् ।
शतानि त्रीण्यशीतिञ्च शका ह्यष्टादशैव तु ।। Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 46.

3 Quoted in the Dynastic History of Northern India, H.C. Ray, Vol. I, p. 65, note No. 1.

4 See below chapter III.

5 Ibid.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE ŚAKAS IN LITERATURE

It is unfortunate that most of the present-day students of ancient Indian history have largely discarded the ancient tradition. Being ignorant of its immense value, they have not been able to give a connected account of India's past. When, on the other hand, we peep into the various branches of Sanskrit literature, we find a vast and accurate store of information preserved therein. In this chapter, therefore, references to Śakas in Sanskrit, Jain and Buddhist works have been collected. The works are quoted in their chronological order, as, otherwise these loose their intrinsic value. Recent researches have proved that traditional chronology is correct to a large extent. These references help to fill in the gaps in the Śaka history.

1. *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki* has many references to the Śakas.[1] It has accounts of struggles between the ancient Āryans of India and the mixed hordes of Yavanas and Śakas. These struggles will be related at length under the heading *Purāṇas*. In the *Kishkindhā Kāṇḍa*,[2] the Śakas are enumerated with the Kambojas, Yavanas and Bāhlīkas.

2. Next in chronological order comes the *Mahābhārata*, the second great epic of India. The mention of Śakas at that ancient period (circa 3102 B.C.) in the *Mahābhārata* is authentic as found spersed in various *parvas* of this text. If the passages about the Śakas be regarded as interpolated, it should be borne in mind that interpolations could not have been so very systematic throughout the text, in all the available manuscripts from so many and such widely separated places in India.

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[1] (i) भूय एवासृजद्घोरान् शकान् यवनमिश्रितान् ।
तैरासीत्संवृता भूमिः शकैर्यवनमिश्रितैः ।। Bālakāṇḍa, 54, 21 and
(ii) योनिदेशाच्च यवनाः शकृद्देशाच्छकास्तथा ।। 55, 3.

[2] काम्बोजान् यवनांश्चैव शकानारट्टकानपि। बाह्लीकानृषिकांश्चैव पौरवानथ टङ्कणान् ।। Ibid., 43, 12.

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THE ŚAKAS IN LITERATURE

I. ŚAKAS AND TUSHĀRAS

The second great epic of India clearly distinguishes between Śakas and Tushāras and mentions them along with Yavanas.[1] Tushāras or the later Kushāṇas are not mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and they may, therefore, probably be of a later origin. *Bhīshma Parva* shows that they fought in the great Bhārata war. *Karṇa Parva* also confirms this view.[2] In the Bhārata war the Śakas sided with the Kurus.[3] The distinct classification of these two tribes as separate from each other is found throughout the Sanskrit literature.

The *Mahābhārata* further states that Śakas, Yavanas and Kambojas became *vṛshalas* or low-class people by not associating with *brāhmaṇas*.[4] They are often classed with Barbaras and *mlechchhas* and sometimes reckoned as *mlechchhas*. During the *Mahābhārata* period, Indians had known the Śakas closely because they had already settled on the banks of the Indus as stated in Chapter I on the authority of *Majmal-ut-Twārikh*.

5943

3. Śakas along with Yavanas, Pahlavas and Kambojas are also mentioned in the *Bhṛgu Saṁhitā* of *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*. According to this work they sank to the position of low caste people by the omission of *Kshatrīya* rites and as they were neglected by the *brāhmaṇas*.[5] This statement is similar to the statement in the *Mahābhārata* noted above.

4. *Purāṇas:* Some of the *Purāṇas* refer to the Śakas along with other foreign tribes who had penetrated as far as Ayodhyā and also to their defeat and humiliation by Sagara, the son of Bāhu. The story

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[1] तुषारा यवनाश्चैव शकाश्च सह चूचुपैः । Bhīshma Parva, 71. 20.

[2] शकास्तुषारा यवनाश्च सादिनः । सहैव काम्भोजवरैर्जिघांसवः ॥ Karṇa Parva, 64. 16.

[3] प्राच्यैः प्रतीच्यैरथ दाक्षिणात्यैरुदीच्यकाम्बोजशकैः खशैश्च । Udyoga Parva, 158. 20.

[4] शका यवनकाम्भोजास्तास्ताः क्षत्रियजातयः ।
वृषलत्वं परिगता ब्राह्मणानामदर्शनात् ॥ Anuśāsana Parva, 33. 19.

[5] वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥
पौण्ड्रकाश्चौड्रद्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः ।
पारदाः पह्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदाः खशाः ॥ Manusmṛti X. 43, 44.

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in these *Purāṇas*[1] is almost identical, as: Bāhu was ill and the Haihayas, Tālajañghas and Śakas and other tribes uniting wrested his kingdom from him. His posthumous son Sagara determined to exterminate the Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas. When he was slaughtering them they fled to Vasishṭha for protection. The *muni* having made a compact with them, stopped Sagara and saved them. But Sagara destroyed their laws of religion and changed their mode of dress. He made the Śakas shave half the head. He deprived them of the recitation of the Veda and the exclamation *Vashaṭ*.[2] These hordes of *kshatrīya* tribes seem to have inhabited and settled down in parts of India as evident from the long interval between the defeat of Bāhu and their consequent defeat by Sagara. A remarkable feature in the narrative is their non-mention as *mlechchhas* or barbarians. Nor is there any suggestion that the Śakas and four other tribes were different in religion from the people of Ayodhya, who professed the Vedic religion. Arguing cogently Pargiter[3] has concluded that "these five foreign tribes were *Kshatrīyas* and of much the same religion as Vasishṭha and Sagara." They fell steadily in Indian estimation later on. By the time of the Bhārata battle they were classed as degraded tribes. Pargiter is of opinion that "the story in this ballad could not have been composed in after time.[4] It is, therefore, considerably anterior to the *Mahābhārata* period.

II. WESTERN KSHATRAPAS IN THE PURĀṆAS

The *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* mention eighteen Śaka kings who ruled after the Āndhras or Sātavāhanas in some

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[1] Brahmāṇḍa, Ch. 63; Vāyu, Ch. 88; Vishṇu, Ch. 8 etc.

[2] अर्धं शकानां शिरसो मुंडयित्वा व्यसर्जयत् । यवनानां शिरः सर्वं कंबोजानां तथैव च ॥
पारदा मुक्तकेशाश्च पह्लवाः श्मश्रुधारिणाः । निःस्वाध्यायवषट्काराः कृतास्तेन महात्मना: ॥
Vāyu, 88, 140 141.
Compare it with Harivaṃśa as quoted in 'A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature' by Max Müller, Allahabad, 1912, p. 28.

[3] Journal of Royal Asiatic Society London, 1919, p. 359. (The above substance is mainly from Pargiter's account.)

[4] Ibid., p. 361.

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province of India.[1] But only Sixteen are mentioned in the *Vishṇu* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*.[2] But the readings in *Mañju-Śrī-mūla-kalpa*[3] though mutilated certainly establish that eighteen Śakas were sufficiently powerful to be mentioned as kings out of thirty. The remaining twelve may have been some petty rulers during the periods of decline of the Śaka power. In *Mañju-Śrī-mūla-kalpa* they are described as *Madhyamas i.e.*, kings of the *Madhya* country and are located in the North-midland.

There is some discrepancy in the accounts given by the various *Purāṇas* about the duration of the Śaka dynasty. The *Brahmāṇḍa, Vāyu* and *Matsya Purāṇas* assign to them 380 years.[4] Pargiter[5] takes 183 years to be the duration. But the duration of 300 years of 'e' ms. of *Vāyu Purāṇa* seems to be correct. They actually reigned for about 300 years as mentioned in a subsequent chapter. The coins which range from 41 to 310 are the best proof of this.

5. *Kāśyapa Saṁhitā and Parāśara Saṁhitā* are two very ancient works on astronomy. Varāhamihira (505 A.D. ?) describes these books as the productions of *munis*, which means that they belong to the *Mahābhārata* period. Śakas are mentioned along with Yavanas and Kukuras in these works.[6]

6. In the *Charaka Saṁhitā*, a medical work, we find mention of the diet of the Śakas. They used to take meat, wheat flour and

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[1] सप्त गर्दभिनश्चापि शकाश्चाष्टादशैवतु । Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 45.

[2] दश गर्दभिनो नृपाः । शकाः षोडशभूपालाः । Ibid.

[3] (i) शकवंश तदा त्रिंशत् मनुजेशा निबोधता ॥ 611
(ii) दशाष्ट भूपतयः ख्याता सार्धभूतिकमध्यमा ॥ 612

[4] (i) सप्तगर्दभिला भूयो भोक्ष्यन्तीमां वसुन्धराम् । शतानि त्रीण्यशीतिं च शका ह्यष्टादशैव तु ।
(ii) शतानि त्रीण्यशीतिं च भोक्ष्यन्ति वसुधां शकाः ॥ Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 46.

[5] Ibid., p. 72.

[6] (i) प्रागधं नर्मदायाश्च शोणाः शबरमागधाः । भद्रावङ्गाः कलिङ्गाश्च बाह्लीका यवनाः शकाः ॥
(ii) रौद्रे शकान् कुकुरान् पल्वलोपजीविनश्च । Quoted in Adbhuta Sāgara, Kashi ed., V.S. 1962, pp. 10 and 65 respectively. Also quoted by Bhaṭṭa Utpala in his commentary on Bṛhat Saṁhitā, p. 218.

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mādhvīka, an intoxicating drink.[1]

7. *Pāṇini*, the great Sanskrit grammarian, (earlier than the 4th century B.C.) is the next author who mentions the Śakas. In his *Gaṇapāṭha* the name Śaka appears at many places,[2] and *Kāśikā*, a commentary on his *Ashṭādhyāyī* (circa, the 7th century A.D.) supports these readings.[3]

8 *Kātyāyana* (earlier than the 3rd century B.C.) is the next great author who mentions the Śakas. In his *vārtika* on the work of Pāṇini, he uses the expression '*Śakandhu*'.[4] This means that he not only knew the Śakas but also knew the wells *(andhu)* sunk by them. This word is traceable to the *Gaṇapāṭha*[5] of Pāṇini also and the *Kāśikā*[6] regards it as an integral part of the text of *Gaṇapāṭha*.

9. *Patañjali*, (earlier than the 2nd century B.C.) the author of the *Mahābhāshya* has used the compound *Śaka-Yavana*.[7] It is clear that he knew the Śakas along with the Yavanas. "Professor Bhandarkar deduces from the instance of the *dvandva* compound that the Śakas, like the Yavanas, had already established their power in the north-west of India in the age of Patañjali, that is, between 184 and 148 B.C."[8]

10. In the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata-Muni, Sakas are mentioned along with Ābhīras and Chāṇḍālas.[9]

According to Professor A.B. Keith, "we cannot place it (*Nāṭyaśāstra*) before the 3rd century A.D."[10] This view is, however,

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[1] वाह्लीकाः पह्लवाश्चीनाः शूलीका यवनाः शकाः। मांसगोधूममाध्वीकशस्त्रवैश्वानरोचिताः॥ Chikitsā Sthāna, Ch. 30, 316.

[2] IV. 1, 175 ; IV. 3, 92 ; V. 4, 38.

[3] II. 1, 60 ; IV. 1, 175 ; IV. 2. 120.

[4] I. 1, 64.

[5] IV. 1, 151.

[6] IV. 1, 151.

[7] II. 4, 10.

[8] Quoted in Indian Culture, Vol. V, p. 116.

[9] शकारामीरचण्डाल शबरद्रमिलान्ध्रजाः। हीना वनेचराणां च विभाषा नाटके स्मृता॥ Ch. 17, 50.

[10] The Sanskrit Drama, p. 13.

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extremely conservative. Sāgaranandin's work *Nāṭaka-Lakshaṇa Ratna-kosha* (12th century A.D.) published in Oxford mentions that king Harsha-Vikrama and Mātṛgupta both commented on his work.[1] Again, the Buddhist patriarch Rāhulaka (235 A.D.)[2] also used the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.[3] The date of Bharata's work is much earlier; Kālidāsa also remembers him as a *muni*.

11. The *Yuga Purāṇa of Gārgī Saṁhitā* has a good deal to say about the advent, depredations and end of the Śakas. A tyrant Śaka king Amlāṭa is described and the tyranny of Śakas in general is also narrated.[4] After the Yavanas, hordes of Śakas invaded parts of India during the Śuñga regime. According to K.P. Jayaswal this text belongs to the 1st century A.D.[5]

12. There is a Prākrit work *Paumacariya*, of Vimalasūri. Dr. H. Jacobi does not accept the date of its composition, given at the end of the work as 530 A.V. (after Vīra or Mahāvīra). But Dr. Winternitz accepts this date.[6] Dr. Jacobi writes in his introduction to the *Pariśishṭa Parvan* :

"In it (Paumacariya) the Yavanas and Śakas are mentioned, not as newly settled in India but as living there since time immemorial"[7] It is certain that the Jain author Vimalasūri regarded the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* as authentic texts and consequently believed in the antiquity of the Śakas in or near India as described in these works.

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1 श्रीहर्षविक्रमनराधिपमातृगुप्तगर्गाश्मकुट्टनखकुट्टकबादराणाम् ।
एषां मतेन भरतस्य मतं विगाह्य घुष्टं मया समनुगच्छत रत्नकोशम् ।। p. 134.

2 B. Bhattacharya, Foreword to the Tattvasaṁgraha, p. LXIX.

3 Abhinavagupta's commentary, Vol. I, p. 155, 172.

4 ततः प्रनष्टचारित्राः स्वकर्मोपहताः प्रजाः ।
करिष्यन्ति चका(शका) घो(रा) बहुलाश्च इति श्रुतिः ।
चतुर्भागं तु शस्त्रेण नाशयिष्यंति प्राणिनाम् ।
हरिष्यन्ति शकाः षोशं (कोशं ? तेषां ?) चतुर्भागं स्वकं पुरं ।
ततः प्रजायां शेप्रायां तस्य राज्यस्य परिक्षयात् ।

5 Bihar and Orissa Research Society Journal, 1928, p. 404 and Ibid, 1929, p. 131.

6 A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 477.

7 p. XIX, 1932 ed.

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13. The *Ashṭāñga Saṁgraha of Vāgabhaṭṭa*, a native of Sindhu, states that the reddish cheeks of Śaka women, and Śaka lords were due to the use of *palāṇḍu* or onion in their diet.[1]

14. In the drama *Pādatāḍitakam* of *Mahākavi* Śyāmilaka, a Śaka prince of Surāshṭra is mentioned along with a Gupta heir-apparent.[2]

15. Some *gāthās* of the *Tiloya Paṇṇattī*, a Jain work of the 5th century A.D., throw a good deal of light on the chronology of Nahapāna and the Chashṭanas or the Western Kshatrapas.[3] The *Tiloya Paṇṇattī* records that 461 years after the death of Mahāvīra, the Śakas came into prominence....They (or Chashṭana's dynasty) ruled for 242 years. *Gāthā* No. 98 states that the Guptas succeeded the Chashṭanas as rulers.[4]

From these statements it appears that Nahapāna ascended the throne in 421 after Mahāvīra's death. The total of the reigns of Nahapāna and the Bhṛtya Chashṭanas or the Śakas was 282 years. The author of this work, in the 5th century A.D., believed the Śakas to be Chashṭanas and none else.

The late Dr. Hira Lal Sud commenting on these *gāthās* interprets *Bhac-chaṭṭhaṇāṇa* (भच्छट्ठणाण) as "probably Bhṛtya Āndhras or Āndhra-bhṛtyas." Following his lead the editors of this work have

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[1] रसोनान्तरं वायोः पलाण्डुः परमौषधम् ।
साक्षादिव स्थितं यत्र शकाधिपतिजीवितम् ।।
यस्योपयोगेन शकाङ्गनानां लावण्यसारादिविनिर्मितानाम् ।
कपोलकान्त्या विजितः शशाङ्को रसातलं गच्छति निर्विदेव ।। Uttara tantra, Ch. 49.

[2] Caturabhāṇī pp. 7 and 39, Patna ed. 1922.

[3] 86-89; 93-99.

[4] दोण्णिसदा पणवण्णा गुत्ताणं चउमुहस्सवादालं ।
वस्सं होदिसहस्सं केई एवं परूवंति ।। 94
भच्छट्ठणाण कालो दोण्णि सयाइं हवंति वादाला ।
तत्तो गुत्ता ताणं रज्जे दोण्णिय सयामि इगितीसा ।। 98. Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākrit Manuscripts in the C.P. and Berar by Hiralal, p. XVI.

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also translated the word as Bhṛtya-Āndhras. But this Sanskrit rendering of the Prākrit from is altogether untenable. The Sanskrit form is Chashṭana and they belonged to the Śaka race.

In the Jain *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* (783 A.D.) a literal translation of these *Prākrit gāthās* into Sanskrit is found.[1] There the word for Bhṛtya Chashṭanas is 'Bhaṭaṭubāṇa.' This reading is sufficiently corrupt, but it certainly is not Bhṛtya-Āndhras.

16. According to the astronomical work *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*,[2] a Śakeśvara or a Śaka overlord of Rumma-deśa was defeated by Vikramāditya. He was taken through the bazars of Ujjayini as a captive and later released. Not understading the significance and meaning of the word '*Ruma*' or '*Romaka*', Captain Wilford writes[3]:

'Vicrama is supposed to have waged war with the Romans, all the time that he lived: that is to say for 145 years; and to have taken one of their emperors prisoner, whom he carried in triumph through the streets of Ujjayini.'

In the *Purāṇas* we find Romaka, a territory of the Sindhus.[4] This word is found in the *Gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini also.[5] Alberuni[6] also enumerates this Romaka or Ruma amongst the territories of the north-west on the authority of *Matsya Purāṇa* which reads *Romaka*. The reading of Alberuni, however, is *mara*. On the other hand according to Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa's commentary[7] on *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, Romaka or Ruma denotes a 'saltish land.' But the author of

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1 Chapter 63, verses 487, 488 and 552.

2 यो रुमदेशाधिपतिं शकेश्वरं जित्वा गृहीत्वोज्जयिनीं महाहवे ।
आनीय संभ्राभ्य मुमोचयत्त्वहो स विक्रमार्कः समसह्यविक्रमः ॥ Ch. 22, 17.

3 Essay on Vicramāditya and Salivahana by Captain Wilford, Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, 1809, p. 119.

4 सैन्धवानुर्वसान्बर्बान्कुपथानभीमरोमकान् ।
शुनामुखांश्चोर्दमरून्सिन्धुरेतान्निषेवते ॥ Matsya 121. 47 and 48 respectively.

5 IV. 2. 80. and IV. 2. 110.

6 Alberuni's India, Vol. I, Ch. 25, p. 261.

7 रुमा=लवणभूमिः II. 2, 243.

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Kalpadrukosha[1] translates the word as 'salt' only.

A variety of salt called *romaka* was known to *Charaka* and *Suśruta*. According to *Chakrapāṇi*, a commentator of *Charaka*, *romaka* means a salt prepared from the water of Ruma river.[2] *Rumā* is a lake according to Dalhaṇa, a commentator of *Suśruta*.[3] Ruma may be an earlier name of the Śākaṁbharī lake. *Hemādri* while commenting on *Ashṭāñga-hṛdaya*, states that *romaka* was produced in the *Śākaṁbharī* territory.[4] The very name *Śākaṁbharī* has some relation with the Śakas.

Some scholars have regarded *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* as having been completed in the 13th century A.D.[5] But, whatever be the date of this work, mention of Ruma and its king Śaka has an old tradition behind it.

17. Viśākhadatta or Viśākhadeva, a contemporary of Chandragupta Vikrama, wrote a drama called *Devī-Chandragupta*. It describes the heroic deed of Chandragupta's assassinating a Śaka king. This Śaka king wanted to marry Dhruvadevī, the wife of Chandragupta's elder brother. This historical fact is again alluded to by Bāṇa. The story of Rāwal[6] and Barkarmis as narrated in *Majmal-ut-Twārīkh* is merely a translation of this drama into Arabic by Abul Hassan Ali (1026 A.D.). Who was this Śakapati bold enough to execute such a plan? Altekar[7] believes him to be the Śaka Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena II. But this cannot be reconciled with the evidence put forth by *Majmal-ut-Twārīkh* and Rājaśekhara. Both these

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[1] स्यान्मिश्रं बहुलवणमथौर्वसहमैरिणम् ।
वसुपांशु च वसुकं पांशवं रोमकं पुनः ॥183॥ p. 153, Gaekwad's Oriental Series ed.

[2] III. 8, 141.

[3] I. 46, 313.

[4] I.6, 148.

[5] *Gaṇaka Taraṅgiṇī*, p. 45 gives the date of the author as 1164.

[6] On the word Rāwal, Abul Fazl writes: "The chief of the state was formerly called Rāwal, but for a long time past has been known as Rāṇā." Āin-i-Akbari, Eng. Tr. Vol. II, p. 268. On the word Rāwal see also Indian Culture, Vol. XII, No.1, p. 13f.

[7] Quoted in "A History of the Guptas" by R.N. Dandekar, p. 77.

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authorities place the defeat of the Sakas in the north Punjab, and it is not yet known if Rudrasena II ever ruled in the north of the Punjab.

Viśākhadatta in his *Mudrārākshasa* alludes to Saka kings, who are described as brave.[1]

Viśākhadatta, the author of the play *Devī Chandra-Gupta*, is very likely the same as the author of *Mudrārākshasa*.[2]

18. In the *Harsha-charita* of *Bāṇa* it is stated that Chandragupta disguised as a woman assassinated a Śaka king who desired the wife of another.[3] Commenting on this passage of *Bāṇa*, *Śankarārya* writes that Chandragupta in the disguise of Dhruvadevī killed the Śaka king who coveted his brother's (Rāmagupta's) wife.[4]

19. *Brahmagupta*, an astronomer of *circa* 620 A.D., mentions in his *Brahma-sphuta-siddhānta* the beginning of the current Śaka era at the death of a Śaka king.[5] This reference has been fully dealt with in Chapter IV.

20. In the *Rāma-charita* of *Abhinanda* (end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century A.D.) it is asked, "after Vikrama, the enemy of the Śaka king, where do poets tell pious tales?[6] This enemy

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[1] (i) प्रस्थातव्यं पुरस्तात्खसमगधगणैर्मामनु व्यूह्य सैन्यैर्गन्धारैर्मध्ययाने सयवनपतिभिः संविधेयः प्रयत्नः। पश्चात्तिष्ठन्तु वीराः शकनरपतयः संभृताश्चीणहूणैः कौलूताद्यश्च शिष्टः पथि पथि वृणुयाद्राजलोकः कुमारम् ॥ Canto V, verse 11

(ii) अस्ति तावच्छकयवनकिरातकाम्बोजपारसीकबाह्लीकप्रभृतिभिः.....Canto II, p. 86, Bombay Sanskrit Series ed. 1889.

[2] Classical Sanskrit Literature by Krishnamacharya, p. 604-609.

[3] अरिपुरे च परकलत्रकामुकं कामिनीवेशगुप्तश्च चन्द्रगुप्तः शकपतिम् अशातयदिति। Chapter 6, p. 696, Calcutta ed.

[4] शकानामाचार्यः शकाधिपतिः चन्द्रगुप्तभ्रातृजायां ध्रुवदेवीं प्रार्थयमानः चन्द्रगुप्तेन ध्रुवदेवीवेषधारिणा स्त्रीवेषजनपरिवृतेन व्यापादितः।

[5] I.26.

[6] Canto XXII.

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of the Śakas is Chandragupta Vikramāditya. Here it is again said that "by the foe of the Śaka, the works of Kālidāsa were brought to fame."

21. *Mañju-śrī-mūla-kalpa* is a Buddhist work. According to the late Dr. K.P. Jayaswal it was composed in circa the 9th century A.D.[1] It contains an important verse[2] which states that there were in all thirty kings of the Śakas. Of them only eighteen were monarchs of note.

22. *Vardhamāna*, the author of *Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi* (1140 A.D.), quotes the following verse from some earlier author, while commenting on the word Śaka :

चोलकेरलनाथं तमापतन्तं विलोक्य सः ।
शकं मशकवन्मेने काम्बोजमजवन्नृपः ।। Kārikā 20

23. *Kalhaṇa* (1149 A.D.) in his *Rājatrañgiṇī* writes about a king named Pratāpāditya of Kashmir, who was related to some Vikramāditya. According to Kalhaṇa, some writers confused this Vikramāditya with Śakāri-Vikramāditya, but he says that they were mistaken, as Śakāri-Vikramāditya was some one else.[3] Kalhaṇa further writes that there was in *Ujjayini* a Vikramāditya *alias* Harsha, who in the beginning destroyed the Śakas.[4]

24. In the *Sadukti-Karṇāmṛta* of Srīdharadāsa (Śaka 1127—1205 A.D.), three *ślokas* of the celebrated poet *Amaruka* are quoted. One of them describes the feats of a king "who took vow to make widows of Śaka women."[5]

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[1] Imperial History of India, Introduction.
[2] 611 later half, 612 first half.
[3] शकारिर्विक्रमादित्य इति स भ्रममाश्रितैः । अन्यैरत्रान्यथालेखि विसंवादि कदर्थितम् ।। II.6.
[4] (i) तत्रानेहस्युज्जयिन्यां श्रीमान्हर्षापराभिधः । एकच्छत्रश्चक्रवर्ती विक्रमादित्य इत्यभूत् ।।
(ii) म्लेच्छोच्छेदाय वसुधां हरेरवतरिष्यतः । शकान्विनाश्य येनादौ कार्यभारो लघूकृतः ।। III. 125, 128.
[5] शकवधूवैधव्यदीक्षागुरोः । p. 297, Lahore ed.

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25. Sanskrit anthologies have preserved *ślokas* of three authors Śakachella, Śakavarman and Śakavṛddhi.[1] They may have been some Śaka authors.

26. *Prabhāvaka-charita* of *Prabhāchandra* (1277 A.D.) contains a Kālakasūri-charita.[2] This is almost identical with the *Kālakāchārya-kathānaka*, which has been so widely used and relied on by Dr. Sten Konow. This *charita* records that the Jain teacher Kālaka went to the Śaka country and brought with him a Shāhi (षाहि) or Śāhi (शाहि) king.

There are many versions of this *Kālakāchārya Kathānaka* known amongst the Jainas, but the story about the advent of the Śakas in western India is almost the same in all of them.

27. *Kumārapāla-charita of Jayasiṁhasūri* gives the following information.[3] There was a king Śrī Siṁha Vikrama in the Chālukya family. He possessed the power of turning base metals into gold. He started an era of his own after freeing all (subordinate) rulers of any debt. He had a son Hari Vikrama, the crest of the brave. Even the strong Śaka dynasties did not bear the heat of his glory. In his family was born Rāma. To him was born Sahajarāma who killed the king of the Śakas, the lord of three lakhs of horses[4]...In his family was born Mūlarāja.

Now, this Mūlarāja was ruling in *circa* 950 A.D. Long before him the king of the Śakas, the lord of three lakhs of horses, was killed by Sahajarāma who was born in the family of Siṁha Vikrama and

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1 Subhāśitāvali of Vallabhadeva, P. Peterson's ed. 1886, Introduction, p.125.

2 Carita IV.

3 Canto I, verse 21.

4 Rasiklal C. Parikh translates in his Kāvyānuśasana, (1938, Vol. II, Part I, Intro. p. XXI) as "Among his descendant there was one Sahajarāma who had a cavalry force of three lacs of horses and who defeated the lord of Śakas on the battlefield." Mr. K.M. Munshi following, perhaps, Mr. Parikh has given a similar translation in his "The Glory that was Gurjaradeśa", Part III, p. 72, *i.e*, "After him came Sahajarama who was the Lord of three lakhs of horses, who having destroyed the lord of the Śakas." I am afraid the interpretation of both of them is wrong.

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Hari (=Vikrama). This family was certainly the family of Samudragupta and Chandragupta as they bore the titles of Siṁha-Vikrama etc. But here this family is, by mistake, described as the Chālukya family.

28. A Śakāditya is mentioned in *Hara Gaurī Samvāda.*[1]

29. In *Bṛhaddeśī* by Mātañga-muni, Śaka songs are mentioned as:[2]

Dhaivatarshabhabāhulyaṁ dṛiśyate cha muhurmuhuḥ.
Śakarāge tu saṁpūtā bhāshā pañchamashāḍabe.

[1] I.H.Q., Vol. XVIII, p. 251.

[2] धैवतर्षभबाहुल्यं दृश्यते च मुहुर्मुहुः ।
शकरागे तु संपूता भाषा पञ्चमषाडवे ।। pp. 132-134, Trivandrum Sanskrit series.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE ŚAKAS IN INSCRIPTIONS

In the previous chapter are given detailed references to the Śakas from Indian literature, which are a positive evidence as any other. Some scholars of to-day attach lesser importance to references from literature, unless these are supported by inscriptional or numismatic evidence. But, historians should remember that in India eminent classical writers were also the writers of inscriptions under their patron kings, *e.g.*, Harisheṇa under Samudragupta. Ancient Indian history can only be pieced together from all the three sources, literary, inscriptional and numismatic ; therefore, the available inscriptional evidence regarding the Śakas and their achievements, has been compiled. The text of these inscriptions is reproduced as an Appendix.

1. *Inscriptions of Nahapāna's Time.* Eight important inscriptions (PLATES I to VI) of the time of Nahapāna are known to scholars. These are inscribed on the caves of Nasik, Karle and Junar. The Nasik Cave Inscriptions 11,13 and 14(a)[1] mention the matrimonial alliance between Śaka Ushavadāta and Dakshamitrā, the daughter of Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta. This as well as other inscriptions of Śaka Ushavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna are a helpful source for a study of the reign of Nahapāna. The dates in these inscriptions range from the year 41 to 46 of an unspecified era. One of these eight inscriptions is the inscription of Ayama, the minister of Nahapāna. It is dated in the year 46 of an unspecified era. As regards this date, Sten Konow had pointed out that according to the latest reading of the symbol of the date sign by Rapson, the figure should be 76 and not 46.[2] In this inscription the title *sāmi* is used with the name Nahapāna.[3]

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1 E.I. Vol. VIII, pp. 81, 85 and 86.
2 Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology, pp. 40, 41.
3 E.I. Vol. VII, p. 56.

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2. There are certain inscriptions on the *Bheraghat statues*[1] of the daughter of Bhūmaka which, however, are nearly illegible.[2]

3. *The Karle Cave Inscription of Mitradevaṇaka.*[3] This inscription (PLATE V) records the gift of a pillar. Mitradevaṇaka calls himself the son of Ushavadāta, who was the son-in-law of Nahapāna. Senart is of opinion that Mitradevaṇaka is an Indian name. So, he may have been the son of Ushavadāta by his Indian wife Dakshamitrā.

4. *The Nasīk Cave Inscription No. 15*, tells about Śakāni lay devotee Vishṇudatā, the daughter of Agnivarman, the Śaka.[4] (PLATE VII). It shows that the Śakas in India, unlike the Romans in England, used to perform certain religious ceremonies indigenous to their adopted country. Here, we have reference to a Śaka lay devotee, who seems to have been a resident of some monastery on mount Triraśmī in Nasik. This inscription is dated in the 9th year of king Iśvarasena, the Ābhīra.

5. *The Inscription of Vāsiṭhīputa Siri Pulumāvi,*[5] in his 19th regnal year, describes the defeat of the Śakas along with the Yavanas and Pahlavas by his deceased father Siri Sātakaṇi Gotamīputa (PLATE VIII). It also states that Gotamīputa exterminated the Kshaharāta dynasty. This inscription is very important as it independently records the above facts. However, Sten Konow regards the fact of the destruction of the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas as a mere boast.[6]

6. There are *two inscriptions in one of the Nasik Caves*, (PLATES IX A and IX B) which refer to the gift of two cisterns and a cave by a Śaka writer named Dāmachika Vudhika, son of Vishṇudatta of Daśapura.[7]

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[1] Near Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh.
[2] Quoted in Indian History Congress Proceedings, Lahore Session, 1940, p. 150.
[3] E.I. Vol. VII, The Karle Cave Inscriptions, No. 11, p. 56.
[4] E.I. Vol. VIII, pp. 88, 89.
[5] Ibid, The Nasik Cave Inscriptions, No. 2, p. 60 f.
[6] Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology, p. 42.
[7] E.I. Vol. VIII, The Nasik Cave Inscriptions, Nos. 26 and 27, pp. 95-96.

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7. Raychaudhuri, however, thinks that "the earliest Śaka kings mentioned in Indian inscriptions are perhaps Dāmijada and Maues."[1] This statement requires further investigation.

8. *The Mathura Lion-Capital Inscription*[2] contains the line- *Sarvasa Sakastanasa puyae.* (PLATES X A to X C). There has been a great deal of controversy over the interpretation of this line. Dr. Raychaudhuri has summed up the whole as follows[3] :

"Cunningham interpreted the passage as meaning 'for the merit of the people of Śakasthāna.' Dr. Fleet, however, maintained that 'there are no real grounds for thinking that the Śakas ever figured as invaders of any part of northern India above Kathiawad and the western and southern parts of the territory now known as Malwa.' He took '*Sarva*' to be a proper name and translated the inscriptional passage 'as a grift of '*Sarva*' in honour of his home'."[4]

'Fleet's objection is not convincing. Chinese evidence clearly establishes the presence of Śakas in Kipin *i.e.*, Kāpiśa-Gandhāra. As regards the presence of the tribe at Mathura, the site of the inscription, we should note that the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* refers to a Śaka settlement in the *Madhyadeśa*. Dr. Thomas points out that there is no difficulty in the expression of honour to the 'whole realm of the Śakas since we find in the Wardak, Sui Vihar and other inscriptions even more comprehensive expressions, *e.g.*, *Sarva 'Sattvanam*, 'of all living creatures.' As regards Fleet's rendering "*svaka and śakaṭthāna*" as one's own place, Dr. Thomas says that it does not seem natural to inscribe on the stone honour to somebody's own home. A *pūjā* addressed to a country is unusual, but inscription G of the Lion-Capital contains a similar *pūjā* addressed to the chief representatives

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[1] P.H.A.I., 4th ed., p. 364.

[2] E I. Vol. IX, p. 135, f ; Dr. Harit Krishna Deb had published a thought provoking article on this inscription in J.R.A.S. Bengal, Letters, Vol. X, 1944, p. 13, He, however, gives the reading Śakrasthāna.

[3] P.H.A.I., 4th ed., p. 361.

[4] J.R.A.S., 1904, pp, 703 f ; 1904, pp 155, 643 f.

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of the Śaka dominions.' It is, therefore, clear that '*Sarvasa Śakastansa*' means the realm of all the Śakas and nothing else.

The Mathura Lion-Capital inscription contains the names of Mahākshatrapa Rājula, Mahākshatrapa Kusuluka Patika, Kshatrapa Śoḍāsa and Kshatrapa Kharadaka. These names along with the title Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa indicate the expansion of the Śakas as far as Mathura

9. *Mathura Kaṅkālī Ṭilā Votive Tablet of the time of Śoḍāsa.*[1] (PLATE XI A) The title Mahākshatrapa with the name of Śoḍāsa is an indication of Śaka lineage. This inscription is dated *saṁvatsara* 70+2 or 40+2. According to the alphabet of the Western Kshatrapa coins the first figures may be read as 40, but according to Kushāṇa inscriptions it is certainly 70. The reading 70 may be regarded as correct.[2]

10. *Mathura Stone Inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa*[3] (PLATE XI) mentions this king as Svāmī Mahākshatrapa. Both these Mathura Brāhmī inscriptions use the word Svāmi with Śoḍāsa. He was, therefore, no doubt a Śaka.

11. *An inscription of the time oj Śoḍāsa*[4] (PLATE XII) engraved on the side of a carved door-jamb, mentions him as Svāmī Mahākshatrapa. It refers to the erection of a *toraṇa* (gateway) and a *vedikā* (railing).

12. *An incomplete Brāhmī epigraph of Śoḍāsa.*[5] (PLATE XIII A). A fragmentary architectural piece representing a male with bow and a female with quiver on one side and a woman and a child on the other informs that a gateway was erected by the wife of a minister of Śoḍāsa.

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[1] E.I. Vol. II, p. 199.

[2] Cf. Sten Konow, E I., Vol. XXI, p. 27

[3] E.I., Vol. IX, P. 247

[4] E.I. Vol. XXIV. p. 208 ff.

[5] New Inscriptions from Mathura, R.C. Sharma, p. 6.

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13. *A new inscription of Śoḍāsa.*[1] (PLATE XIV). A rectangular buff-coloured sandstone slab bears an inscription in mixed dialect and in pre-Kushāṇa Brāhmī characters of about the 1st century B.C. It refers to Svāmī Mahākshatrapa Śuṇḍāsa (Śoḍāsa) and records the excavation of the eastern tank (*pushkariṇi*) and gifts of garden, assembly hall (*sabhā*), a well, a pillar and also a stone slab bearing the image of *Śrī* by Kauśiki Pākshakā, the wife of *brāhmaṇa* Mulavasu who is designated as the treasurer (*gāñjavara*) of the Kshatrapa ruler. A similar but broken record discovered long ago from the Jamalpur mound nearby seems to record the donation almost in the same way regarding the western tank, apparently of the same complex but by the treasurer himself whose name is however lost. This inscription bears a carving, at the left hand top corner, of the well-known *Śrīvatsa* motif which is symbolically referred to as the image (*pratimā*) of *Śrī*.

14. Another *inscription from Kaṅkālī Ṭilā*[2] also mentions the word Śaka, though the reading is ambiguous. (PLATE XIII)

15. *Giridharapur Jitlā Inscription.* (PLATE XV). This inscription is in a fragmentary state. Luders, however, draws the conclusion "that the donatrix was of Śaka descent."[3] This inscription is dated in the year 270 of the era of some *Mahārāja*. The name of the Mahārāja is lost. It may be noted that another inscription from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā[4] at Mathura is also dated in the era of some *mahārāja rājātirāja*. The name in this inscription is also lost.

16. *Mathura* (*Second Gaṇeshrā Mound*) *Inscription of Kshaharāta Ghaṭāka.*[5] (PLATE XVI) Dr. Vogel draws the attention of scholars to this fragmentary inscription. In the following two lines which have reached us the words Kshaharāta and Ghaṭāka are quite legible :

(i) .....sa kshaharātasa ghaṭākasa.....
(ii) .....ye dhupa pati.....

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1 Ibid, pp. 6 ff.
2 E.I. Vol. XXIV, p. 203.
3 Ācārya Pushpāñjali Vol. (in honour of Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar), p. 287, 1940.
4 Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXVII, p. 33 ff.
5 J.R.A.S., 1912, p. 121.

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The presence of the Kshaharātas in Mathura is evident.

17. *Mathura Mora Well Inscription*[1] of the time of the son of Mahākshatrapa Rajubula. (PLATE XVII). Though the name of the son is illegible, his designation *svāmī* is clear.

18. *Taxila Copper-plate Inscription of Patika* records the date *saṁvatsara* 78. (PLATE XVIII). This inscription contains a word *Kshahara* which according to some scholars is nothing else but Kshaharāta.[2] Some scholars have surmised that this Patika is the same as that mentioned in the Mathura Lion-Capital inscription.

19. *Andhau Inscription of Chashṭaṇa:* year 11 (PLATE XIX). This inscription has been discovered recently and is dated in the year 11.[3] It is a very important land mark taking back by 41 years the earliest inscription of these rulers. The name of the ruler is lost who is mentioned as a descendant of Kshatrapa Ysamotika. It records the erection of a memorial pillar.

20. *Khavda Inscription of Rudradāman I:* year (5) 3.[4] (PLATE XX). This inscription refers to the reign of Rājan Svāmī Rudradāman, son of Rājan Svāmī Jayadāman who was son of Rājan Mahākshatrapa Svāmī Chashṭaṇa and Chashṭaṇa is mentioned as the son of Ysamotika. It is dated *Śrāvaṇa ba 5* but the year is flaked off leaving the unit 3 intact.

It records the erection of a *yaṭhi* evidently as a funeral monument in memory of a certain A(—)ka, son of Śatruṁsaha and a novice (*śramaṇera*) probably of Jainism by his son Dhanadeva. The name of his father has been lost but is conjectured to be Apathaka.

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[1] E.I. Vol. XXIV, p. 194 f.
[2] E.I. Vol IV, p. 55 f.
[3] Indian Archaeology—A Review No. 9, p. 52, 1967-68 ; J.A.I.H., Vol. 2, pp. 104 ff, 1970.
[4] E.I. Vol. XXXVII, pp. 139 ff.

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21. *Four Andhau Stone Inscriptions of the time of Chashṭaṇa and Rudradāman* (PLATES XXI A, B, C AND XXII).[1] These inscriptions are four in number and bear the date *varshe* 52. These mention Ysamotika, as the father of Chashṭaṇa. The object of all the four inscriptions is to record the erection of a funeral monument (*laṭhi*) by the relatives of the deceased.

22. *Junāgarh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I.*[2] (PLATES XXIII) This is a very famous and important inscription and was written in *varshe* 72. This is the first Śaka inscription which was written in Sanskrit of the *Kāvya* style. It gives the history of the dam named Sudarśana. It also records the exploits of the great Rudradāman.

23. Shri V.S. Wakankar has an inscription from Ujjain which reads : *dāmasya putrasya*[3] in Brāhmī characters of about 3rd century A.D. (PLATE XXIV). The ruler apparently belonged to the royal line of Kshatrapas.

24. *Gundā* (*North Kathiawar*) *Inscription of the time of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasiṁha I.*[4] (PLATE XXV). This inscription gives the date *varshe* 103. The language is Prakrit and the inscription was set up by an Ābhīra General, Rudrabhūti by name. An inscription entered in *para 36* may be read along with this inscription. Both the inscriptions may be of one and the same year. An Ābhīra is mentioned in each.

25. *Vandha Inscription of Rudrasiṁha I :* year 105.[5] (PLATE XXVI). The inscription is now in Bhuj Museum and refers to the reign of Rājan Mahākshatrapa Svāmī Rudrasiṁha, son of Rājan Mahākshatrapa Svāmī Rudradāman. The date expressed as 100 5 is 105. The month may be *Kārttika ba 2.* It records the erection of a *yashṭi*

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[1] E.I. Vol. XVI, pp. 19 ff.

[2] E.I. Vol. VIII, p. 42 f.

[3] Indian Archaeology— A Review, No. 36, p. 70, 1963-64.

[4] E.I. Vol. XVI, pp. 233 ff.

[5] E.I. Vol. XXXVII, pp. 142 ff.

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as a funeral monument in the memory of a woman, of Atimutaka *gotra* and resident of Kasa-deśa (modern Kutch) by one Ajamitra.

It is the second inscription of Rudrasiṁha I and the only one describing him as Mahākshatrapa.

26. *Andhau inscription of Rājan Mahākshatrapa Svāmī Rudrasiṁha*[1] dated *Jyeshtha mula Śu 12*, of the year 114, records the erection of a *yashṭi*. (PLATE XXVII).

27. *Kaṇherī Lane Inscription.*[2] This inscription mentions that Vāsishṭhiputra Śrī Sātakarṇi had a wife who was the daughter of Mahākshatrapa Ru (dradāman) of the family of Karddamaka kings.

28. *Junāgarh Inscription of Jayadāman's Grandson.*[3] (PLATE XXVIII). The inscription is mutilated. The name of the king and the date of its writing are both lost. However, the names Chashṭaṇa Jayadāman and Girinagara are legible. The inscription may be of Dāmaysada or Rudrasiṁha I.

29. *Junāgarh Inscription of Jīvadāmā.*[4] (PLATE XXIX). Only two lines have survived and even these are broken in places. The date is 100+.... The record refers to the reign of Jīvadāman. He is titled as Kshatrapa Svāmī. Jīvadāman of this inscription is the grandson of Rudradāman I.

30. *Mulvāsara Inscription of the time of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena.*[5] (PLATE XXX). The date is *varshe* 232 or 122. It records that the son of Vaṇijaka sacrificed his life for a friend. The year 122 appears to be the correct reading.[6]

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[1] Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, No. B. 176, 1954-55; Rasesh Jamindar, Sambodhi, Vol. 3, Nos. 2-3, pp. 45 ff., 1974.
[2] Luders, List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, No. 994.
[3] E.I., Vol. XVI, p. 241.
[4] E.I., Vol. XVIII, pp. 339-40.
[5] Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kattyawar, p. 23.
[6] Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, A.S. Gadre, 1943, pp. 2 ff.

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31. *Gaḍhā or Jasdan Lake* (*North Kathiawar*) *Stone Inscription of Rudrasena I.* (PLATE XXXI). This inscription is dated *varshe* 127 or 126. Rudrasena is entitled Mahākshatrapa Svāmī.[1]

The genealogical table in this inscription is the longest that has so far come to light. It is as follows :

(1) Rājā Mahākshatrapa Bhadramukha Svāmī Chashṭaṇa.
(2) Rājā Kshatrapa Svāmī Jayadāman.
(3) Rājā Mahākshatrapa Bha(dramukha) Svāmī Rudradāman.
(4) Rājā Mahākshatrapa Bhadramukha Rudrasiṁha.
(5) Rājā Mahākshatrapa Svāmī Rudrasena.

32. *Intwa Clay Sealing of Rudrasena.*[2] (PLATE XXXII A). Intwa, a place yielding bricks since long, is about 3 miles from Junāgarh in Gujarat State. The sealing is almost round in shape, with legend in Brāhmī characters along the margin beginning at 3 O'clock. Its text is : Mahārājā-Rudrasena-Vihāre-bhikshu-saṁghasya.

The seal belongs to the congregation of friars at the *Mahārājā Rudrasena Monastery.* Out of the four Rudrasena's of the dynasty, on paleographic grounds, this Rudrasena appears to be the first son of Rudrasiṁha I. Gradual absorption into the society and Indianisation of Śaka's is evident not only from the seal but almost from all other inscription.

33. *Kānākherā* (*near Sāñchī*) *Stone Inscription of Śrīdharavarman.* (PLATE XXXIII B). This inscription was discovered by Sir John Marshall. N.G. Majumdar read its date as 241. Dr. D.C. Sircar thinks that "the reading of the date is doubtful", and reads the date as 201. According to Dr. D.C. Sircar, Śrīdharavarman was "originally an official of the Śaka house of Mālwā, but later assumed independence."[3]

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[1] E.I., Vol. XVI, p. 238.
[2] E.I., Vol. XXVIII, p. 174 f.
[3] E.I., Vol. XVI, p. 232.

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34. *Eraṇ Stone Pillar Inscription of Śaka Śrīdharavarma.*[1] (PLATE XXXIII). This inscription refers to the reign of Rājan and Mahākshatrapa Śrīdharavarma, the sun of Śaka Nanda. It is dated in the 27th regnal year expressed both in words and numerical symbols. It records the construction of a *tīrtha* or stairs for descent into the river at the *adhishṭhāna* of Erikina, in the territorial division of Bahiriki of the Nagendra *ahāra* by Nārāyaṇasvāmī and the erection of a monumental pillar (*yashṭi*) by Satyanāga, the *Ārakshita* and *Senāpati* of Śaka Mahākshatrapa and Rājan Śrīdhararavarma. Satyanāga was a native of Mahārāshṭra and the chief, apparantly, of the Nāgas.

The Kānākhera inscription mentions Śaka Śrīdharavarma as *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka.* The present inscription establishes him as an independent king.

35. *Inscription of Iśvaradeva Ābhira*: Śaka year 254.[2] (PLATE XXXIV). An inscription of Ābhīra king Īśvaradeva in Gupta Brāhmī characters contributes to the history of the Ābhīras and is the earliest record mentioning the Śaka era by name. It was discovered at Daulatpur, District Kutch and is now preserved in the Kutch Museum, Bhuj. It is in Sanskrit and refers to the reign of a ruler whose name is not legible but also mentions Īśvaradeva.

36. *Mevasā (Kutch) Stone Inscription of the time of Bhartṛdāman*: year 205. (PLATE XXXV). D.B. Diskalkar discovered this inscription and published it in the proceedings of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference.[3] He interprets the date as 300, but it may be interpreted as 103 also. If the interpretation of Diskalkar is accepted, then this inscription should be associated with the great grandson of Bhartṛdāman, who ruled upto *circa* 215 A.D. But, from the materials known so far, it is certain that the line of Chashṭaṇa ended with the son of Bhartṛdāman. So, the existence of his great grandson is unintelligible at this stage of our knowledge. Now, if the other interpretation

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[1] C.I.I., Vol. IV, pp. 605 ff.
[2] Indian Archaeology—A Review, No. 9, p. 46, 1968-69.
[3] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 565.

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103 be proved correct then the Bhartṛdāman of this inscription will be a brother of Rudradāman I.

This inscription has also been edited by P.R. Śrinivasan. He reads its date as 205, *Kārttika Śu* 5.[1] It is the only available epigraph of Bhartṛdāman. It mentions one Ābhīra Vāsudeva son of Kadamba and the grandson of Harihivakaṁda and as the daughter's son of a person named possibly as Gulaka.

The meaning of the inscription as a whole is not clear. As already pointed out this inscription should be read along with the Guṇḍā inscription (*vide* para No. 24).

37. *Goṇḍal fragmentary Inscription of the time of Rudrasena (III):* year 272.[2] (PLATE XXXVI). This inscription is dated in the year 272, *phālguna śudi 2*, which date refers to the reign of Śaka Rudrasena III. It records that the son of Siṁhasena, raised the *vedi* in honour of a deity for the welfare and happiness of all creatures.

38. *Devni-Mori Relic Casket Inscription of Rudrasena (IV):* Kathika year 127.[3] (PLATE XXXVII). This inscription is engraved on the drum and base of a circular stone relic casket and was discovered in a ruined Buddhist stupa at Devni-mori in the Biloda Taluk, Sabarkantha District, Gujarat State.

The inscription refers to the reign of Rudrasena *nṛipati* and is dated *Bhādrapada 5 of the year* 127 of the Kathika kings. Rudrasena III is entitled normally as Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa Svāmī in his inscriptions and on his coins. In the present record he is only titled as *nṛipati*. Possibly, this record was not got engraved by him even though it refers to his reign. Siṁhasena, the son of the sister of Rudrasena III had a son named Rudrasena, who is known by a single coin of his time and seems to have ruled as Rudrasena IV. It is likely

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[1] E.I., Vol. XXXVII, pp. 144 ff.

[2] E.I., Vol. XXXV, pp. 191 ff.

[3] E.I., Vol. XXXVII, pp. 67-69

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that he was assigned the rulership of the area around Devni-mori by Rudrasena III himself. So this *nṛipati* may be Rudrasena IV.

39. *Junagarh Inscription of (Rudra) Siṁha*; year 282.[1] (PLATE XXXVIII). This inscription is dated in the year 282, *Vaiśākha Śu 7*. It is in Brāhmī characters and is in Sanskrit. Its details are lost.

40. *An Inscription of Mahākshatrapa Svāmī Rudra*[2] is noticed in Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy. (PLATE XXXIX). It is from Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society Collection. It is damaged.

41. *Junar Cave Inscription No. 13*.[3] This inscription mentions a Śaka, Aduthama.

42. *Amaravati Inscription*.[4] (PLATE XL). A Śaka-giri is mentioned in this inscription. Chanda reads the word as (Ś)akagiri, and F.W. Thomas as Pi(Si)giri. But Śaka-giri as also suggested by K. Gopalachari seems to be the correct reading.[5]

43. *Nāgārjunakoṇḍā Epigraph*.[6] A Śaka Moda and his sister Budhi are mentioned. This shows that individual Śakas had penetrated into the Deccan at an early date. This is further proved by the fact that 'among the sculptures excavated by Mr. Longhurst at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā there are two showing a warrior in Scythian dress."[7]

44. *Chandravalli Stone Inscription of Mayūraśarman*. This place is in Mysore. It is stated that Mayūraśarman defeated the Ābhīras, the Pallavas and the Śakasthanas etc.[8] These Śakasthanas appear to be those who inhabited the Kathiawar territory.

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[1] Annnal Report on Indian Epigraphy, B 512, 1954-55.
[2] *Ibid*, B 31, 1950-51.
[3] Quoted in Bhāratīya Itihāsa kī Rūparekhā by Jai Chandra Vidyalaṁkara, Vol. II, p. 951.
[4] E. I., Vol. XV, Some Unpublished Amaravati Inscriptions, No. 55, p. 274.
[5] Early History of the Andhra Country, 1941, p. 96.
[6] E.I., Vol. XX, p. 37.
[7] Early History of the Andhra Country, p. 96.
[8] Mysore Archaeological Survey, Annual Report, 1929, p. 50.

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45. *Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta*[1] states that *Daivaputra-shāhi-shāhānushāhi Śaka-Muruṇḍas* and many others bowed before Samudragupta. It should be noted that in this purely Sanskrit inscription the word Shāhi (षाहि) is spelt as sha (ष).

46. *Bargaon grant of Ratnapāla* : circa 1050 A.D. or even earlier gives the account that 'he (Ratnapāla) was a strong cage for the sporting Śaka bird'[2] *i.e.*, he was powerful enough to be dreaded by the Śakas. On the other hand, H.C. Ray very strangely translates it as 'with a fence strong like that used for the game birds of the Śakas'.[3]

47. *Six Saindhava Copper plate grants from Ghumli.*[4] The writer of grant No. A of the time of Agguka II and No. B of the time of Jaika is some Śaka named Kapila, son of Vikkaṭṭa, who was an ornament of the Śakas. The inscriptions are dated in the year 513 of an unknown *saṁvat*. It might possibly be the Valabhī era. It shows that some Śakas retained their individuality long after the Śaka rule had ended.

48. *Shahdaur Inscription*. (PLATE XLI). This Kharoshṭhī inscription according to the reading of Sten Konow records a name Namijada and *Śaka sabatsar*.[5] The name, if read correctly, has some similarity with the Śaka name Damajada.

49. *Pauni Slab Inscription*. (PLATE XLII). A slab found at Pauni, in Bhandara Taluk, Bhandara District, Maharashtra, is ascribed to a Kshatrapa and records that this memorial pillar *(chhāyā khaṁba)* is of a certain Rupiamma who is described as *Mahākhattava Kumāra* (Mahākshatrapa Kumāra).[6]

50 *Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Rudradāmaśri.*[7] A fragmentary inscription on a stone slab in Sanskrit influenced

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1 Select Inscriptions by D.C. Sircar, p. 258.
2 शक क्रीडाशकुनिदृढपञ्जरेण.
3 Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol. I, p. 250.
4 E.I., Vol. XXVI, pp. 188-203.
5 E.I., Vol. XIX., p. 199; C.I.I., Vol. II, p. 16.
6 E.I., Vol. XXXVII, pp. 201 ff.
7 E.I., Vol. XXXIV, p. 244-245.

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by Prakrit found in Mirzapur District of Uttar Pradesh is now in the Varanasi Sanskrit University Museum. It mentions the name of Mahārāja Rudradāmaśrī. Could he have been related to the Śaka Rudradāmā?

51. *Fragmentary Stone Inscription from Patanvaw.*[1] (PLATE XLIII). Among the stone inscriptions found at a stupa-site at Patanvaw a fragmentary inscription belongs to the son of Svāmi Dama. This could be of one of the three Dāmajadśrī.

In the end it may be pointed out that though not directly connected with inscriptional information, some archaeological remains show the presence of Scythian or Śaka power near Indore also. Sardar M.V. Kibe writes, 'about six miles to the south of Indore, on a plateau, there are the remains of a Scythian camp near Nagpur.'

[1] Indian Archaeology—A Review, No 19, p. 62, 1975-76.

[2] Blanks in Middle Indian History', article by Sardar M.V. Kibe, published in Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume, p. 62, 1936.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE ŚAKA ERA

Coins and inscriptions of the Śaka rulers of western India show that the Śaka kings used an era of their own. Almost all scholars are of the opinion that the well known Śaka-Śālivāhana era, which is even now in vogue in India, is that same era. It will, however, be seen later on that such is not the case and in reality there was an earlier Śaka era, which was used by the Śaka kings and the Śaka-Śālivāhana era started at the end of Śaka rule.

I. DIFFERENT NAMES OF THE ŚAKA ERA

The Śaka era has been used in inscriptions and literature under the following different names:

1. The era of the *coronatian of a Śaka king:*

Pravardhamāna-rājya-saṁvatsare dvādaśe Śaka-nṛpati-rājyābhishekasaṁ-vatsareshu-atikrānteshu-paṁchasu-śateshu.[1]

2. The era of a *Śaka king:*

(*i*) Śaka-nṛpa-saṁvatsareshu śaraśikhimunishu vyatiteshu.[2]
(*ii*) Śaka-nṛpati-saṁvatsara-śateshu chatustriṁśādhikeshu paṁchasvatīteshu.[3]

3. *Śaka-Saṁvat* or the *Śaka era:*

(*i*) Śaka-saṁvat 832 Vaiśākha-śuddha-paurṇamāsyām mahāvaiśākhyām.[4]

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[1] प्रवर्धमानराज्यसंवत्सरे द्वादशे शकनृपतिराज्याभिषेक संवत्वरेष्वतिक्रान्तेषु पञ्चसु शतेषु । E.I., Vol.VII, Appendix, p. 2, No. 3.

[2] (i) शकनृपसंवत्सरेषु शरशिखिमुनिषु व्यतीतेषु । I.A., Vol. XII, p. 16.
(ii) शकनृपतिसंवत्सरशतेषु चतुस्त्रिंशाधिकेषु पञ्चस्वतीतेषु । I.A., Vol. VI, p. 73.

[3] (i) शकसंवत् 832 वैशाखशुद्धपौर्णमास्यां महावैशाख्यां । E.I., Vol. I., p. 56.

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(*ii*) Ekādaśottara-shaṭa-śateshu chhaka-varsheshu atīteshu.[1]
(*iii*) Śaka-kāla-saṁvatsara.[2]
(*iv*) Śakābda 967.[3]
(*v*) Śaka-samaye 867.[4]

4. *Śaka or Śāka*:

(*i*) Śaka 1157 manmatha-saṁvatsare.[5]
(*ii*) Śāke nava sa(śa)tairyukte dvisaptatyadhike (972)[6]

The word Śāka requires elucidation. Abul Fazl informs us that the word Sākā was used for the era of Vikramāditya also. He says:

"After the invasion of Sālvahana, the era of Bikramājit was changed from Sākā to Sanpat."[7]

It is possible that the observation of Abul Fazl might be correct. The following lines[8] from an inscription show the use of both the words Sakā and Saṁvat for the same era:

Sakā saharaika sate prayā(te shaḍutta)re triṁsati yāti kāle
.....saṁvat 1136 Phālguna śudi 3 su(śu)kre

Again, one Kālidāsa, the author of *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*, uses the word Śāka with the Vikrama era in the following verse[9]:

Trikhendubhir 103 Vikrama-bhupatermite śāke.....

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[1] एकादशोत्तरषट्छतेषु शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु । I.A. Vol. VI, p. 86.

[2] शककालसंवत्सर । E.I. Vol. XX, Appendix, Inscriptions of Northern India by D.R. Bhandarkar, No. 1082.

[3] शकाब्द 967 । Ibid, No. 1091.

[4] शकसमये 867 । E.I. Vol IX, p, 53.

[5] शक 1157 मन्मथसंवत्सरे । E.I. Vol. VII, Appendix, Kielhorn's list of Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 63, No. 348.

[6] शाके नव स(श)तैर्युक्ते द्विसप्तत्यधिके (972) । E.I. Vol. XX, Appendix, Inscriptions of Northern India by D.R. Bhandarkar, p. 147, No. 1092.

[7] Ain-i-Akbari, Eng. Tr. by Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 16, Calcutta ed., 1891.

[8] सकासहस्रैक सते प्रया [ते षडुत्त]रे त्रिंसति याति काले
..... संवत् 1136 फाल्गुन शुदि 3 सु[शु]क्रे । Inscriptions of Northern India by D.R. Bhandarkar, No. 145.

[9] त्रिखेन्दुभिर् 103 विक्रमभूपतेर्मिते शाके.....। IV. 53

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In the *Akalañka-charita* (15th or 16th century A.D.), we read the following:

Vikramārka-śakābdīya-śata-sapta-pramājushi.[1]

There is a fourth very clear case which confirms this statement. Ananta wrote a work *Kātyāyana-smārta-mantrārtha-dīpikā*. A manuscript of this work was copied in *saṁvat* 1721. It is preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It ends with the colophon:

Śāke (vasu) vasu-shaṭka-prathamāṁka-parāmite 1688.
Granthoyaṁ nirmmitaḥ kāśyāma-Anantāchārya-dhīmatā.[2]

Now, this is not a Śaka date, for, if it were, it will correspond with Vikrama year 1823. This date is one hundred and two years later than the date of this copy of the work. This riddle finds its solution in another work of the same author. Ananta writes at the end of his *Kāṇva-Yaju-bhāshya*:

Tri-parvata-rasaikaścha-mite vikrame śake
Esho-adhikāśyanantena praṇīto granthamuttamaḥ.[3]

This shows that by the word Śāka, he meant the Vikrama era. These cases lend double proof to Abul Fazl's statement. They necessitate a review of the Śaka dates in the inscriptions considered irregular, so far.

The form Śāka is common with astronomical and Jain writers also. For example:

(*i*) Lalla gives in the *Uttarādhikāra* of *Grahagaṇita* a date with the word Śāka:

Śāke nakhābdhi 420 rahite.[4]

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[1] विक्रमार्कशकाब्दीय शत सप्तप्रमाजुषि । Quoted in Akalañka-Grantha-trayam, Intro., p. 13.

[2] शाके [वसु] वसुषट्कप्रथमाङ्कपरामिते 1688 ।
ग्रन्थोऽयं निर्म्मितः काश्यामनन्ताचार्यधीमता ।।
Vedic Vañgmaya kā Itihāsa, Vol. II, p. 107, Bhagavad Datta and Satya Shrava.

[3] त्रिपर्वतरसैकश्च मिते विक्रमे शके ।
एषोऽधिकाश्यनन्तेन प्रणीतो ग्रंथमुत्तमः ।।
Queens College Library, Collection No. 3 and Satchel 78.

[4] शाके नखाब्धि 420 रहिते ।

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(*ii*) Brahmagupta writes in his *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* (587 Śāka):

Śāko-aga-vasu-śarono-arka-guṇaśchaitrādi-māsa-saṁyuktaḥ
Triṁśad-guṇa-stithiyutaḥ pṛthagishu-sahito-dvidhā bhaktaḥ.[1]

(*iii*) Śatānanda (*circa* 812 Śāka), the author of *Bhāsvatī*, gives the date of his composition in Śāka:

Tām bhāsvatīm śishya-hitārthamāha śāke vihīne śaśipakshakhaikaiḥ.[2]

(*iv*) Bhaṭṭa-Utpala, commenting on Bṛihajjātaka, gives the date of completing the work as 888 Śāka:

Chaitra māsasya paṁchamyām sitāyām guruvāsare,
Vasu-ashṭa-ashṭamite śāke kṛteyam vivṛtirmayā.[3]

(*v*) The date of *Nyāyakandalī* by Bhaṭṭa Śrīdhara, as quoted at the end of the work is Śākābda 913:

Tryadhika-daśottara-navaśata-śākābde 913 nyāyakandalī rachitā,
Śrī Pāṇḍudāsa-yāchita-Bhaṭṭa-Śrī-Śrīdhareṇeyam.[4]

(*vi*) Śrīpati (921 Śāka) also uses this form:

Yugābdhya-bdhyunite 444 Śāke-shashṭi bhakte-ayanāṁśakāḥ.[5]

(*vii*) Vādirāja Sūri, a Jain author, in his *Pārśvanātha-charita* writes:

Śākābde naga-vārdhirandhraganane saṁvatsare krodhane
māse kārtika-nāmni-buddhamahite śuddhe tṛitīya dine.[6]

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[1] शाकोऽगवसुशरोनोऽर्कगुणश्चैत्रादिमाससंयुक्तः ।
त्रिंशदगुणस्तिथियुतः पृथगिषुसहितो द्विधा भक्तः ॥ I.3.

[2] तां भास्वतीं शिष्यहितार्थमाह शाके विहीने शशिपक्षखैकैः । I.I. Banaras ed.

[3] चैत्रमासस्य पञ्चम्यां सितायां गुरुवासरे ।
वस्वष्टाष्टमिते शाके कृतेयं विवृतिर्मया । Bṛhajjātaka, p. 278.

[4] त्र्यधिकदशोत्तरनवशतशाकाब्दे 913 न्यायकन्दली रचिता ।
श्रीपाण्डुदासयाचितभट्टश्रीश्रीधरेणेयम् ॥ Quoted in Gaṇakatarañgiṇī, p. 25, Banaras ed.

[5] युगाब्ध्यब्ध्यूनिते 444 शाके षष्टिभक्तेऽयनांशकाः । Siddhānta Śekhara, p. 12, Introduction, Calcutta, ed.

[6] शाकाब्दे नगवार्धिरन्ध्रगणने संवत्सरे क्रोधने,
मासे कार्तिकनाम्नि बुद्धमहिते शुद्धे तृतीया दिने । Quoted in Jain Sāhitya Aura Itihāsa, p. 300.

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Besides these forms, there is another way of naming this era. It is expressed as :

5. *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara* or the era which marks the expiry of the time of the Śaka king or kings.

(*i*) Śakanṛipa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śateshu
saptasvekona-chatvāriṁśadhikeshu
Vaiśākha-śuddha paṁchadaśyāmmahā vaiśākhi-parvvaṇi (739 Śaka)[1]
(*ii*) Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta Saṁvatsara-śateshu tṛī (tṛi)shu daśottareshu.[2]

This fifth way of naming the era is used in a majority of copper plates and inscriptions of the Rāshṭra-kūṭas and Western Chālukyas.

6. *Śālivāhana Śaka.* According to R.B. Gauri Shankar Hira Chand Ojha[3] and many other historians the name Śālivāhana was connected with this era in Śaka 1276. But the association of the name Śālivāhana with this era goes back 295 years, *i.e* , to 981 Śaka.[4] This establishes the fact that the name Śālivāhana was connected with this era much earlier. Śrī Muniśvara states in his *Siddhānta-Sārva-Bhauma*[5] that king Śālivāhana of the Śaka era was the writer of the *Prākrit* work *Saptaśatī.*

In the Somalapuram grant of Virupāksha of Śaka 1389 this era is described as :

7. *Śālivāhana-nirṇīta-Śaka-varsha-kramāgate,*[6] *i.e.,* in the course of the Śaka years determined by Śālivāhana. This expression

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[1] शकनृपकालातीत संवत्सरशतेषु सप्तस्वेकोनचत्वारिङ्शदधिकेषु
वैशाख शुद्धपंचदश्याम्महावैशाखीपर्व्वणि (739 शक)
Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, A.S. Gadre, Vol. I p, 32.

[2] शकनृपकालातीत संवत्सरशतेषु त्री(त्रि)षु दशोत्तरेषु । E.I Vol. VII, Appendix, Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 2, No. 1.

[3] Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipi Mālā, p. 172.

[4] Ekādasa-śata-varshāṁga tadadhikam shoḍaśam cha vikramendresham,
Saṁvat 1116 nava-sata-ekāsaīti-saka-gata śālivāhan cha nṛpadhīsa-sāke 981.
Inscriptions of Northern India, No. 134
एकादस शतवर्षाङ्ग तदधिकं षोडशं च विक्रमेंद्रेशं ।
संवत् 1116 नवसत एकासीति सकगत शालिवाहन च नृपधीस साके 981 ॥

[5] Siddhānta-Sārva-Bhauma, pt. I, p. 23, Benaras ed.

[6] E.I. Vol. XVII, p. 199.

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indicates that according to the writer of this plate, Śālivāhana was regarded as one who simply decided something in connection with this era. What it was, we do not yet know.

8. *Śakendra-kāla.* Another form of naming Śaka era is *Śakendra-kāla.* Its first use is found in the following verses of *Pañcasiddhāntika* and *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* by Varāhamihira :

(*i*) Dvayūnam śakendra-kālam pañchabhiruddhṛtya śeshavarshāṇām Dyuganam māgha sitādyam kuryād dyuganam tadhanyudayāt [1]

(*ii*) Gatānivarshāṇi śakendrakālāddhatāni rudraiguṇayechchaturbhiḥ, navāshṭa pañchāshṭa, 8589 yutāni kṛtvā bibhājayechchhūnya śarāgarāmaiḥ.[2]

Vaṭeśvara, an astronomer, follows Varāthamihira and uses this form in expressing his own date in the following verse :

Śakendrakālād Bhuja-śūnya-kuñjarairabhūdatītaīrmama janma-hāyanaiḥ 702.
Akāri rāddhānta sitaissvajanmano mayā jinābdaīrdyusadāmanugrahāt 24.[3]

Of the above names of the Śaka era, how many denote the older Śaka era, is yet to be ascertained.

II. RAPSON AND THE CURRENT ŚAKA ERA

On the general assumption that the Śaka kings used this Śaka era in their inscriptions, Prof. E.J. Rapson, while discussing the origin of the name of this era, writes[4] :

"The dates which appear on the coins and inscriptions, of its

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[1] द्वयूनं शकेन्द्रकालं पञ्चभिरुद्धृत्य शेषवर्षाणाम् । द्युगणं माघसिताद्यं कुर्याद् द्युगणं तद्हन्युदयात् ॥
Pañchasiddhāntikā, ed. by G. Thibaut and M. Sudhakara Dvivedi, p. 31, sl. 2, Moti Lal Benarsi Das (Lahore) ed.

[2] गतानि वर्षाणि शकेन्द्रकालाद्धतानि रुद्रैर्गुणयेच्चतुर्भिः ।
नवाष्टपञ्चाष्ट 8589 युतानि कृत्वा विभाजयेच्छून्यशरागरामैः ॥ Bṛhatsaṁhitā, VIII, 20.
शकेन्द्रकालाद् भुजशून्यकुंजरैरभूदतीतैर्मम जन्महायनैः 702 ।
अकारि राद्धान्त सितैस्स्वजन्मनो मया जिनाब्दैद्युसदामनुग्रहात् 24 ।

[3] Acc. No. 3784, Catalogue of the Panjab University, Lahore, Sanskrit Mss.

[4] Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 58.

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(Śaka) princes, are all in the era which starts from the beginning of Kanishka's reign in 78 A.D. They range from the year 41 to the year 310 (119-388 A.D.) and form the most continuous and complete chronological series found on the monuments of ancient India. It was in consequence of its long use by the Śaka princes of Western India that the era became generally known in India as the Śaka era."

Prof. Rapson has expressed the following two important views in the above passage, *viz.* :

(*a*) The current Śaka era started with Kanishka's reign.

(*b*) The current Śaka era was so named because it was used for a very long time by the Śaka princes of Western India.

III. RAPSON'S VIEW CONTRADICTED

Both these views are contradicted by the following statements of earlier authors :

1. Alberuni (1030 A.D.) writes in his *Indika* :

"THE ŚAKA KĀLA"

"The epoch of the era of Śaka or Śakakāla falls 135 years later than that of Vikramāditya. The here-mentioned Śaka tyrannised over their country between the river Sindh and the ocean, after he had made Āryāvarta, in the midst of this realm, his dwelling-place. He interdicted the Hindus from considering and representing themselves as anything but Śakas. Some maintain that he was a Śūdra from the city of Almanṣūra ; others maintain that he was not a Hindu at all, and that he had come to India from the west. The Hindus had much to suffer from him, till at last they received help from the east, when Vikramāditya marched against him, put him to flight and killed him in the region of Karūr, between Multan and the castle of Lonī. Now this date became famous, as people rejoiced in the news

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of the death of the tyrant, and was used as the epoch of an era, especially by the astronomers. They honour the conqueror by adding Śrī to his name, so as to say Śrī Vikramāditya. Since there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramāditya (v. p. 5) and the killing of Śaka, we think that Vikramāditya from whom the era has got its name is not identical with that one who killed Śaka, but only a namesake of his."[1]

Alberuni communicates to us the views of the Indian writers of the 11th century and of even earlier dates that the present Śaka era was started after the extermination of a Śaka tyrant.

2. Āmarāja (*circa* 1180 A.D.) the commentator of *Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* states that the Śaka era began when Śaka kings were "killed by Vikramāditya[2] :

> Śakā nāma mlechchhā rājānaste yasmin kāle Vikramādityena vyāpāditāḥ sa śaka-saṁbandhī kālaḥ śāka ityuchyate.

This fact in the same words is mentioned by Pṛthūdaka-svāmin (*circa* 864 A.D.) in his commentary on the same verse.[3]

3. Bhāskara, a famous astronomer, who preceded Utpala, and therefore Alberuni, writes in the *Grahaganita* chapter of his *Siddhānta Śiromaṇī* that 3179 years of the *Kaliyuga* had ended at the death of a Śaka king :

> Nandādṛīnduguṇāstathā Śaka-nṛpasyānte kalervatsarāḥ.[4]

4. Śrīpati, the author of *Siddhānta Śekhara* also says that 3179 years of *Kaliyuga* had passed by the end of the Śaka period,

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[1] Alberuni's India, English edition by Sachau, 1910, Vol. II, Chap. XLIX.

[2] शका नाम म्लेच्छा राजानस्ते यस्मिन् काले विक्रमादित्येन व्यापादिताः स शकसम्बन्धी कालः शाक इत्युच्यते । Khaṇḍakhādyaka, with Vāsanā-Bhāshya by Āmarāja, p. 2, Cal. ed. 1925.

[3] शका नाम म्लेच्छा राजानस्ते यस्मिन् काले विक्रमादित्येन व्यापादिता स कालोऽत्यर्थं प्रसिद्धः । Khaṇḍakhādyaka, ed. by P.C. Sengupta, p. 3, Calcutta ed. 1941.

[4] नन्दान्द्रीदुगुणास्तथा शकनृपस्यान्ते कलेर्वत्सराः । Kālamānādhyāya, I. 28.

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in the following verse :—

Yātāḥ kalernavanagenduguṇāḥ 3179 Śakānte.[1]

But, Makkibhaṭṭa (1377 A.D.),[2] the commentator of *Siddhānta Śekhara*, offers a contradiction. Perhaps, not knowing the existence of two Śaka eras, he wrongly interprets the word *Śakānte* as 'before the beginning of the Śaka era':[3]

Śakānte Śakāvadhau kāle Śakavarshaprārambhāt pūrvam kaleḥ.

5. Tarkāmbarāṁka-pramiteshvatīteshu Śakāntataḥ
varsheshūdayanaśchakre subodhām lakshaṇāvalīm.[4]

This verse is found at the end of *Lakshaṇāvalī*, a work on logic by Udayana (906 Śaka). The author says that he completed the work when 906 years from the expiry of the Śakas had elapsed. His dating from the expiry of the Śakas shows that an era which began at the end of the Śakas was also in vogue in India. This reference is particularly important as Udayana was a logician and not an astronomer.

6. Bhaṭṭa-Utpala, commenting on verse VIII. 20 of *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* by Varāhamihira, states the same fact:

Śakā nāma mlechchha-jātayo-rājānaste yasmin-kāle Vikramāditya-devena vyāpāditāḥ sa kālo loke Śaka iti prasiddhaḥ.[5]

7. Vaṭesvara (702 Śaka) also says that 3179 years of *Kaliyuga* had passed at the conclusion of the Śakas:

Kalernavāgaikaguṇāḥ Śakāvadhe.[6]

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[1] याता: कलेर्नवनगेन्दुगुणा: 3179 शकान्ते । I.25

[2] P.K. Gode's article in Journal of Indian Hlstory (Madras), Vol, XVI, pp.259-262.

[3] शकान्ते शकावधौ काले शकवर्षप्रारम्भात् पूर्वकालेः । Siddhānta Śekhara by Śrīpati, p. 16 commentary on sl. 25, Calcutta ed., 1932.

[4] तर्काम्बरांक प्रमितेष्वतीतेषु शकान्ततः । वर्षेषूदयनश्चक्रे सुबोधां लक्षणावलीम् ।।
Another reading of this verse has been suggested in Ganganath Jha Research Institute Journal, Vol. II.

[5] शका नाम म्लेच्छजातयो राजानस्ते यस्मिन् काले विक्रमादित्यदेवेन व्यापादिता: स कालो लोके शक इति प्रसिद्धः । p. 193, Benaras ed.

[6] कलेर्नवागैकगुणा: शकावधेः । Acc. No. 3784, sl. 10, Catalogue of the Panjab University Library, Lahore, Sanskrit Manuscripts.

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8. Brahma Gupta (550 Śaka-629 A.D.)[1] writes in his *Brahma-sphuṭa-Siddhānta* that at the end of the Śakas 3179 years of the *Kaliyuga* had passed:

Tṛiṇi kṛitādīni kelergo-agaika-guṇāḥ śakānte-abdaḥ.[2]

In the verse that follows, he again states that at the end of the Śaka[3] king and from the beginning of the *Kalpa* so many years had passed.

9. Another Sanskrit work, *Hara Gauri Saṁvāda*, repeats the same view. This work comes from Assam and is of an unknown date. It may, however, be a resume of an ancient tradition. It records that "in the *Kali* year 3179 (78 A.D.) there was a king Subāhu, who was a bosom friend of Śakāditya. Vikrama after killing his elder brother and this Śaka incurred the enmity of Subāhu.[4] There are some controversial items in the account that follows. The manuscript being quite unsatisfactory, as admitted, I have made no further use of it here. One fact, however, is quite clear, that in *Kali* year 3179 or 78 A.D. a Śaka was killed. Thus, according to this authority also the current Śaka era started with the death of a Śaka king.

The tradition of Vikrama killing his brother and a Śakāditya is recorded in a mutilated form, by Captain Wilford, in the following lines:

"It is the general opinion, that Vikramāditya put his brother Sucāditya, or Bhartrīhari, to a most slow and cruel death, by severing

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1 Śaka nṛpāṇām pañchāśat saṁyuktairvarshaśataiḥ paṁchabhīratītaiḥ.
शकनृपाणां पञ्चाशत् संयुक्तैर्वर्षशतैः पञ्चभिरतीतैः ।

2 त्रीणि कृतादीनि कलेर्गोऽगैकगुणाः शकान्तेऽब्दाः । I.26.

3 शकनृपान्ते । I.27
Śakanṛpānte

4 Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVIII, 1942, p.251.

5 A.R., Vol. IX., p. 152.

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his head, with a knife, both small and bad. His putting him to death is mentioned[1] by Holwell and Mr. Wilkins."

The above information given from the *Vaṁśāvalīs* by Captain Wilford and the incident recorded in the *Hara Gaurī Saṁvāda* are an echo of the story of Chandra Gupta Vikrama as found in *Majmal-ut-Twārikh* and *Devī Chandra Gupta*. Wilford's mention of a knife tallies with the Persian account.

All the above authors are of opinion that the current Śaka era began with the death of a Śaka king or at the end of the Śakas. This tradition which was current even in 628 A.D. was not the creation of a single day. This view finds further support in another way.

IV. MEANING OF ŚAKA-NṚPA-KĀLĀTĪTA-SAṀVATSARA

It has been noted above under no. 5 that one of the names of the Śaka era was, *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara* or the era at the expiry of the time of the Śaka king or kings. Some scholars have translated this phrase as "the expired year of the time of the Śaka kings." But, there are many clear examples, where this interpretation cannot hold good.

1. The following inscription[2] of 743 *Śaka-nṛipa kālātīta* year uses the words *atīta* and again *atīteshu*:

> Śaka-nṛipa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śateshu saptasu tṛichatvāriñśadadhikeshu atīteshu vaiśākha-paurṇamāsyām.[2]

2. *Somadeva Sūrī*, a Jain author, writing his *Yaśas Tilaka-champu* in Śaka 881, writes in the colophon of this work:

> Śaka-nṛipa-kālātīta saṁvatsara-śateshvashṭasvekāśityadhikeshu gateshu.[3]

i.e., in the year 881 expired of the *Śaka-nṛipa-kālātīta* era.

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[1] A.R. Vol. IX, p. 129.

[2] शकनृपकालातीत-संवत्सर-शतेषु सप्तसु त्रिचत्वारिंशदधिकेषु अतीतेषु वैशाखपौर्णमास्यां । E.I., Vol. XXI, p. 144.

[3] शकनृपकालातीत-संवत्सर शतेष्वष्टस्वेकाशीत्यधिकेषु गतेषु ।

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3. Again in an inscription[1] of Śaka 930, the date is expressed as :

> Śaka-nṛipa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śateshu navashu triñśadadhikeshu gateshu 930 pravarttamāna saumya-saṁvatsare.[1]

In numbers 1, 2 and 3, if the first *atīta* means the expired year, as scholars would like to have it, the following *atīteshu* or *gateshu* will be quite redundant. Therefore, the word *atīta* should be joined with *Śaka-nṛipa-kāla* and not *saṁvatsara.* It will mean *Śaka nṛipa-kālamatītya, i.e.*, at the expiry of the time of the Śaka kings. The correctness of this interpretation of the above term is supported by Jayāditiya in his *vārttika* also. According to him, the word *atīta* here forms a compound with *Śaka-nṛipa-kāla* as under the sutra II. 1, 24, the words *kāntāram* and *atīta* form the compound *kāntāratīta.*[2] This indicates that the name of the era had the same significance behind it as expressed above by so many authors.

This idea is further supported by as late a work as *Mitāksharā* (*circa* 1100 A.D.), a commentary on the law code of *Yājñavalkya. Yājñavalkya* writes that all grants of a king should have the time specified in them. On the word time or *kāla*, the *Mitāksharā* explains[3] that it should be done in the following two ways, *i.e.*, in the form of *Śaka-nṛipa-atīta* and of *Saṁvatsara* (60 years Jovian cycle). Prof. D.C. Sircar translates this passage as "the expired year of the Śaka kings and the (regnal) year."[4] This translation is not warranted by the words of *Mitāksharā.* The words can only convey the meaning 'at the expiry of the Śaka king or kings.' Dr. Sircar seems to have translated it according to the general impression.

There are cases, on the other hand, where the Vikrama era is also expressed in similar words and these support this meaning of

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[1] शकनृपकालातीत-संवत्सर-शतेषु नवषु त्रिंशदधिकेषु गतेषु 930 प्रवर्त्तमान सौम्यसंवत्सरे..... E.I., Vol. VII, Appendix No. 150, p 27.

[2] See also Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa, III. 2, 34.

[3] I. 320

[4] Proceedings, Indian History Congress, Lahore Session, p, 53.

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this term as expressed above. For example:

1. Śrī Vikramārkka-nṛipa-kālātīta[1] 1161.
2. Śrīmad-Vikrama-kālātīta-chaturdaśādhika-dvādaśa-śatāntapātī-saṁvatsare Kārtike sudi 1214[2]
3. Śrī Vikrama kālātīta[3] 1235
4. Śrīmad Vikrama-nṛipa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śateshu dvādaśasu-shaṭ shashṭyadhikeshu[4]
5. Prasiddha nṛipati Śrī Vikramātikramāt saṁvad Vishṇupada-dvaye (shu) jagati saṁkhye[5]
6. Śrīman-nṛipa-Vikramārkarājya-samayātīta-saṁvat 16.[6]

These dates, especially the fifth one, indicate that the Vikrama era was believed by many people to have begun with the demise of Vikramāditya. Many Jain works, from the 10th century onwards have preserved this view point.[7]

This fact was known in India in 1809 A.D. Captain Wilford writes, "……the Jains reckon from the death of Vicramaditya……"[8]

Only in no. 1, a solitary example has been met with, so far, where it is stated that perhaps the Śaka-Śālivāhana era was reckoned from the coronation of a Śaka king.[9] It appears that the writer of this inscription of Śaka year 500 has confused the tradition of an earlier Śaka era to be mentioned hereafter, and has used the phrase, the era of the coronation of a Śaka king, with the year of the current Śaka era.

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1 श्रीविक्रमार्क्कनृपकालातीत 1611. E.I., Vol. XIX, Appendix, No. 169.

2 श्रीमद्विक्रमकालातीत चतुर्दशाधिकद्वादशशतान्तपाती संवत्सरे कार्तिके सुदि 1214.

3 श्रीविक्रमकालातीत 1235 । E. I., Vol. XX, No. 383.

4 श्रीमद् विक्रमनृपकालातीत संवत्सर शतेषु द्वादशसु षट्षष्ट्यधिकेषु । E.I., Vol, XX, No. 455.

5 प्रसिद्धनृपति श्रीविक्रमातिक्रमात् संवद् विष्णुपद-द्वये(षु) जगति संख्ये । Inscriptions of Kathiawad, New Indian Antiquary June, 1940, p. 112.

6 श्रीमन्नृपविक्रमार्कराज्यसमयातीत संवत् 16 । Quoted in Bhāratīya-Prāchīna-Lipi-Mālā, p. 170.

7 Prof. Hira Lal has collected these references in his article on the 'Date of Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa,' Journal of the University of Nagpur, December 1970, pp. 52-53.

8 Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, 1809, p. 157.

9 See above p. 39.

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It is, evident that a number of ancient authorities agree that the current Śaka era started with the extermination of the Śakas, and not with the advent of the Śakas in western India. Therefore, the assumption of Prof. E. J. Rapson that the era started with the reign of Kanishka cannot be accepted. Moreover, Kanishka was decidedly a Tushāra, and the Tushāras and Śakas have been distinguished one from the other by Indian writers from the earliest times.

V. FURTHER EVIDENCE

Another very conspicuous fact goes against Prof. Rapson's theory. All the inscriptions of the Śakas or the Western Kshatrapas use the word *varshe* for era, while the inscriptions, copper plates, scrolls etc. of Kanishka and his successors use the word *saṁvatsara* for the era. This clear distinction shows at once that the eras used by the rulers of these two dynasties are totally different. This distinction cannot be regarded as provincial only.

The opinion of Dr. M. Winternitz likewise goes against Prof. Rapson's theory. He writes, "The view, still maintained by a few scholars, that Kanishka is the founder of the Śaka era, which began in 78 A D., is less likely to be correct."[1]

Sten Konow also contradicts the theory of Prof. Rapson. He writes, "Wim Kadphises was on the throne long after the beginning of the Śaka era, which cannot, accordingly, have been instituted by Kanishka, his successor."[2]

VI. ŚAKA ERA AND KĀLAKĀCHĀRYA KATHĀNAKA

A clear idea of the Śakas and the Śaka era, is available from certain Jain works which relate the advent of the Śakas in western India.[3] Dr. Sten Konow has laid great stress on the *Kālakāchārya*

[1] Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 611.
[2] C.I.I., Vol. II, pt. I, p. LXVIII.
[3] On the advent of Śakas in India, see Mahābhāshya VI. I. 91 and VI. I. 101 and Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa 1.4. 100.

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Kathānaka, and he accepts the defeat of a Śaka ruler of Ujjain at the hands of a Vikramāditya in 57 B.C., as also the advent of the Śakas in Ujjain a little before 57 B.C.

Dr. Sten Konow is right in accepting the existence of a Vikramāditya in 57 B.C., but he has not been able to reconcile the diflerent statments of Jain authors as regards the date of *Vīra-Nirvāṇa* nor the Vīra year which is connected with the Śaka or the Śakas.

The Jain tradition recorded in *Tiloya Paṇṇatti*[1] (*circa* the 5th century A.D.) gives as many as four dates of the appearance of a Śaka king in *Vīra-Nirvāṇa* era :-

1. 461 years after the salvation of Mahāvīra.
2. 9785 years 5 months after the salvation of Mahāvīra.
3. 14793 years after the salvation of Mahāvīra.
4. 605 years 5 months after the salvation of Mahāvīra.

The dates indicated in numbers 2 and 3 above are beyond our comprehension. The other two may be considered here. Between the years 461 and 605 there is a difference of 144 years. Indian tradition records the killing of two Śakas near about 57 B.C. and in 78 A.D. It appears, therefore, that later Jain authors changed the figure 461 into 470, thus reducing the difference to 135 years only, which is precisely the difference between the time of the start of the Vikrama era and the start of the current Śaka era. These later authors have, however, thrown no light on the cause of this adjustment.

But, how is one to make use of the truth contained in the different Jain works ? Dr. Sten Konow hits upon the truth when he connects the advent of the Śakas with Kālakāchārya. Unfortunately, the confusion of Jain chronology has created two Kālakāchāryas instead of one. But, whatever may be the case the following pedigree of Jain teachers is borne out by all Jain writers :

1. Śrī Kālakāchārya, who brought the Śaka ruler to take vengeance on the Gardabhilla ruler.

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[1] Gāthās, 86.69.

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2. Ārya Nāga Hasti.
3. Pāda Liptaka.
4. Skandilāchārya.
5. Mukunda Vṛddhavādi.
6. Siddhasena Divākara, a contemporary or Sāhasāṅka Vikrama.

Now, according to Jain tradition, this Siddhasena Divākara was a contemporary of Vikrama who started the Vikrama era. Norman Brown has stated in the *Yuga pradhāna-Svarūpa* that Kālaka I died in Vīra era 376 or 171 B.C.[1] Considering this statement as well as the previous pedigree constructed above, it is probably far beyond the truth to suppose that Kālaka lived in *circa* 200-150 B.C. In the present confused state of Jain chronology, it is safe to go so far only.

VII. TWO ŚAKA ERAS

It is now beyond doubt that there were in reality two Śaka eras. One was the era of 77-78 A.D. which was named the Śaka era some time after the era had come into use, and which started at the extermination of Śaka kings in India; the other was a still earlier and the actual Śaka era, which, was so named because it was used by the Śaka rulers of western India.

Dr. Sten Konow regards[2] the initial year of the earlier Śaka era to be 83 B.C. K.P. Jayaswal[3] and Rapson also have admitted the existence of an earlier Śaka era. Rapson says :

"and it may not unreasonably be suggested that the Cakas, like other foreign invaders at all periods, may have brought with them into India their own system of reckoning and that this may be the era used in Seistān."[4]

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[1] Norman Brown's Kālakācārya Kathā, p. 7, as quoted in Eealy History of the Andhra Country, by K. Gopalachari, p. 16.

[2] Acta Orientalia, Vol. III, p. 83.

[3] 145-100 B.C., J.B.O.R. Society, 1920, p. 21.

[4] Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 570.

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All these scholars, who have admitted the existence of two Śaka eras, have counted the dates found in Śaka inscriptions on the basis of the 77-78 A.D. era. This is, perhaps, due to the fact that when only one Śaka era was known, it was easy to fix the whole chronology according to the era. But it is not safe to settle the matter summarily; it requires further investigation.

VIII. INDIAN TRADITION ON ŚAKA ERA

The existence of an earlier Śaka era is supported by Indian tradition also. Sanskrit literature supplies the following two cases :

Bhaṭṭa-Utpala,[1] who wrote his commentary on *Bṛhajjātaka*, a work of Varāhamihira, in Śaka 888, quotes a verse from a work of Sphuji-dhvaja who was a Yavana king and astronomer. In this verse *Śaka-kāla* 1044 is recorded.[2] Utpala then remarks that Sphuji-dhvaja, the Yavana, was later than Śaka-kāla. This Śaka year 1044 must be earlier than Utpala who was writing in Śaka 888.

Prof. A.B. Keith quotes an interesting reference from a Nepalese manuscript of a *Yavana Jātaka* to the effect that king Sphūrji-dhvaja brought out the work in the year 191 of an unspecified era.[3] Further light may come if this Nepalese manuscript is edited and more carefully studied.

Another example of this type is found in the writings of Bhāskara. This Bhāskara, the author of *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*, who is quoted by Utpala (Śaka 888 = 966 A.D.), gives his own birth date at the end of his *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi* as Śaka 1036, and states that he wrote *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi* at the age of 36, *i.e*, in Śaka 1072.[4] Now, if the quotation from Bhāskara found in Utpala is not a later interpolation, this Śaka year 1072 cannot be of the current Śaka era, because it will fall in 1150 A.D. as Prof. A.B. Keith and others have

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[1] See Indian Culture, Vol. XII, p. 81.

[2] Bṛhajjātaka, VII. 9.

[3] History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 531.

[4] रसगुणपूर्णमही 1036 समशकनृपसमयेऽभवन्ममोत्पत्तिः ।
रसगुण 36 वर्षेण मया सिद्धान्तशिरोमणी रचितः ॥ Praśnādhyāya, sl. 58.

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admitted.[1] This time is much later than Utpala. The fact can only be explained by supposing an earlier Śaka era, which was used even by a writer of a very late period like Bhāskara. There is, however, one difficulty as regards the date of Bhāskara. He writes:

Gato-abdhyadrinandai 974 rmite śāka-kāle tithīśai 1115 rbhavishyatya-thāñgāksha-sūryaiḥ.[2]

Here, if this reading is correct, the year 974 Śaka having expired will show that Bhāskara was later than 974 Śaka. The difference between *Śaka-kāla* and *Sama-Śaka-nṛpa-samaya* has yet to be ascertained.

IX. DATE OF BHĀSKARA

Prof. Albrecht Weber although dealing with a wrong reading, long ago noticed this difficulty about Bhāskara's date. In his history of Indian Literature, he wrote :

"Of these, the most eminent is Bhāskara, to the question of whose age, however, a peculiar difficulty attaches. According to his own account, he was born in Śake 1036 (A.D. 1114) and completed the Sidhānta-śiromaṇi Śake 1072 (A.D. 1150)...; and with this the modern astronomers agree, who assign to him the date Śake 1072 (A.D. 1150). But Albīrūni, who wrote in A.D. 1031 (that is, 83 years before Bhāskara's birth), not merely mentions him, but places his work-here called Karṇasāra—132 years earlier, namely in A.D. 899; so that there is a discrepancy of 284 years between the two accounts. I confess my inability to solve the riddle...."[3]

This was written in 1852 A.D. In the English translation of Alberūni's work, which appeared in 1910, however, the reading Bhāskara has been rejected and Viṭṭesvara adopted instead.[4] This new reading accepted by Dr. Edward C. Sachau may be the correct

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[1] History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 523.

[2] गतोऽब्ध्यद्रिनन्दै 974 मिते शाककाले तिथीशै 1115 र्भविष्यत्यथाङ्गाक्षसूर्यैः। Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, p. 35, Benares ed.

[3] Popular edition, 1914, p. 261, 262.

[4] Alberuni's India, Vol. I. p. 156.

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reading. Vaṭeśvara's work exists unnoticed in a single fragmentary manuscript deposited in the Panjab University Libarary.[1] There the author gives his date, *Śakendrakāla* 702 (780 A. D.).[2] He also states that he was the son of Mahadatta. But, even this correction does not help to solve Weber's riddle. It has just been stated that Utpala, who is often quoted by Alberuni, also cites Bhāskara. Therefore, Bhāskara cannot be placed in the year 1072 of the current Śaka era.

Some scholars have tried to advance the date of Utpala, which is only a case of helplessness, as Utpala is quoted by Alberuni.[3] Others have tried to suppose two Bhāskaras, which is again ridiculous, because Utpala does not quote Bhāskara by name only, but quotes two verses from his work also, under the name *Siddhānta Bhāskara*.[4] Fortunately, the verses are found in the *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*.

It is, therefore, quite clear that Bhāskara, the author of *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*, when giving his birth date was using the earlier Śaka era. He, moreover, designedly distinguished the earlier Śaka era from the era which was called Śaka-kāla by the astronomers. He writes, *Sama-Śaka-nṛpa-samaya*, which means 'in the time of the Śaka king, which time was identical with the existence of the Śakas,' and not with their extermination; or it may mean 'the time of all the Śaka kings.'

X. THE STARTING POINT OF THE EARLIER ŚAKA ERA

It is accepted by all scholars that Nahapāna preceded the Chashṭanas. Nahapāna's date is, therefore, very important for a reconstruction of the forgotten chronology of the Śakas.

XI. DATE OF NAHAPĀNA

The date of Nahapāna is one of the most intricate but interesting problems of Indian history. Three main theories have so

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1 Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Panjab University Library, Lahore, Acc. No. 3784.

2 See above p. 44.

3 Vol. I, p. 156.

4 Bṛhajjātaka, p. 2-3, Benares ed.

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far been advocated. These are all contradictory and opposed to one another. It will be shown that all are wide of the mark and none is satisfactory.

Dubreuil,[1] Bakhale,[2] and Nīlakaṇṭha refer the inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law to the Vikrama era of 58 B.C., thus assigning Nahapāna some date about the end of the 1st century B.C. Cunningham also assigned the years in the inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law to the Vikrama era.

R.D. Banerji refers these dates to the regnal years of Nahapāna.[3]

The advocates of the second theory, Rapson, Raychaudhury, Bhandarkar, B.N. Puri and others, assign the dates in the inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. and place Nahapāna in the 2nd century A.D. Rapson accepts the view that the dates in the inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law are recorded in the years of the Śaka era, beginning in 78 A.D. and therefore, assigns Nahapāna to the period 119 to 124 A.D.

Raychaudhuri concurs to this view and says, 'the theory of those who refer Nahapāna's dates to the Śaka era, is confirmed by the fact pointed out by Prof. Rapson and Dr. Bhandarkar after him,...'[4]

Dr. V.A. Smith assigns him quite a different date. In his Early History of India, he writes '...Nahapāna... may be assigned approximately to the middle of the 1st century after Christ, or possibly earlier.'[5]

A few years ago Dr. Deoras propounded a new theory. According to him, we must give up the theory that Nahapāna has to be placed in the second century A.D..... As the coinage of Wima

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[1] Ancient History of Deccan, p. 20 f.
[2] J.B.B.R.A.S., 1927, p. 66 f.
[3] J.R.A.S., 1917, p. 285.
[4] P.H.A.I., 4th ed., p. 409.
[5] 1924 ed., p. 221.

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Kadphises was prevalent in the empire of Nahapāna, we may assign Nahapāna to *circa* 37 to 85 A.D.'[1]

The Rev. H.R. Scott gives Nahapāna a place near the commencement of the Christian erea.[2]

Jayaswal takes the dates in the inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law to be of the early Śaka era which he thinks to have begun in 123 B.C. He, thus, supposes Nahapāna to have ruled from 82 B.C. to 77 B.C. Sten Konow thinks the earlier Śaka era to have begun in 83 B.C. and assigns Nahapāna to about 57 B.C.

XII. ANALYSIS OF THESE VIEWS

Of all these scholars, only K.P. Jayaswal and Sten Konow have tried to establish a part of the truth embodied in ancient Indian tradition that there was some Śaka king who was defeated by a Vikrama in 57 B.C. The Śakas must, therefore, have been in Gujarat and western India before that time. And as all Śaka coins are dated in a regular era, that era must have begun before 57 B.C.

XIII. THE STARTING POINT OF THE EARLIER ŚAKA ERA

The Śaka era began with the rule of Nahapāna and the Chashṭanas followed him immediately. There can hardly be two opinions on this point. The few scholars who dissent have been unable to bring together any convincing evidence.

Now, if in the light of the statements of Brahmagupta, Bhāskara and others we accept 77-78 A.D. as the end of the Śaka rule, we shall have to admit that the Śaka rule in western India started not later than 204 B.C. This is evident; since according to *Tiloya Paṇṇatti*, we have to allow a reign of 242 years to the Chashṭanas or Western Kshatrapas and a reign of 40 years to Nahapāna. This gives us a total of 282 years, which means that the Śaka rule lasted from 204 B.C. to 78 A.D.

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[1] Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1940, p.152-53.

[2] J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXII, 1907, quoted in J.R.A.S., 1926, p. 654-56.

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This conclusion is in accordance with another Jain tradition. Kālakāchārya according to later Jain tradition, died in 376 A.V. or 171 B.C. He brought the Śakas to Gujarat. This may have happened about 30 to 40 years before his death. One or two ordinary rulers of the Kshaharāta family had ruled and then Nahapāna appeared in Indian history. He may be placed in *circa* 204 B.C., the starting point of the earlier Śaka era.

Abul Fazl writes in the description of Subah of Gujarat:

'Nirvāhana (=Naravāhana or Nahapāna) began his rule in 680 B.C. and ruled for 100 years, and Gandharb (=Gradabhilla) began his rule in 91 B.C. and ruled for 35 years.'[1]

The source of Abul Fazl is extremely mutilated. Yet the main information clearly supports the view that Nahapāna and others ruled some time before the beginning of the Christian era.

Before finishing this chapter, it will not be out of place to note down here a new piece of information about the beginning of an era which is probably the *Śaka-Śālivāhana era.* The information is found in a Burmese chromicle *Malla Linkara* translated by Bishop Bigandet and quotcd by M. Raja Rao:[2]

'.....King Thamug-dara (Samuddhara) of Prome, the eminent astronomer himself, reformed the calendar in the year of religion[3] 625 (A.D. 81) dropping away 622 years and began the reformed computation with *two*, equating it to A.D. 79.'

The theory set forth above and new facts brought to light for the first time will help those scholars who have begun to doubt the initial year of the Gupta era as proposed by Dr. Fleet. Both these questions are closely interrelated.

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[1] Āin-I-Akbari, Eng. Tr. by Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 210, 1891 ed.; H.S. Jarrett gives the above dates from U.T. These are not given by Abul Fazl. He only gives the year which approximate to these dates.

[2] B.C. Law Volume, Part I, 1945, p. 395.

[3] Is it not Dharma or Kṛta saṁvat?

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE KSHAHARĀTAS

Very little is known so far of the relation of the Kshaharātas with the Śakas. Historians think that the surname Kshaharāta has some connection with "Karatai," a Śaka tribe, mentioned in Ptolemy's Geography. Dr. V.R. Deoras[1] disagress with the opinion of Mr. Bakhle that "Kshaharāta is a Sanskrit form of the word Kharaosta occuring in the Mathura Lion-capital inscription.[2] The paucity of material brings every conclusion within the range of possibility. But one thing is certain; that the Kshaharātas are differentiated from the Śakas. It is probable that the Kshaharātas are included in the eighteen Śakas figuring in the *Purāṇas* as the successors of the Sātavāhanas. In *Tiloya Paṇṇatti*, Kshaharāta Nahapāna's reign is differentiated from that of the Bhṛtya Chashṭanas, (or Bhadra Chashṭanas)[3] who are later designated as Śakas. The word Bhṛtya Chashṭanas if interpreted as such seems to indicate that the Chashṭanas were servants either of the Āndhras or of Nahapāna. Ushavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna, takes pride in calling himself a Śaka in his inscriptions. Kshaharātas and Śakas are mentioned as separate dynasties even in Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi's inscription.[4] Rapson says, "It is possible...that the Kṣaharātas may have been Pahlavas and the family of Casṭana Śakas."[5] The Taxila copper plate of Patika reveals that Liaka Kusūlaka and his son Patika were members of the Chhaharata (Kshaharāta) family. Chaharada, Chaharata, Khaharata. Khakharata are all variants of the term Kshaharāta. Mr. Y.R. Gupte points out that among the shepherds

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1 Proceedings, Indian History Congress, Lahore Session, 1940, p. 149.

2 J.B.B.R.A.S., 1927, p. 61.

3 Cf. Gadha Inscription of Rudrasena, where Chashṭana and members of his family are termed as Bhadramukhas.

4 See above p. 26.

5 Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty etc, p. CIV.

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of the Deccan we have the surname *Kharata* which he considers to be shortened form of *Khakharata* (Kshaharāta).[1] The form *Khaharata* is reminiscent of the original *Khāhirāta* or *shāhirāta*. In the *praśasti* of Samudragupta, *Shāhānushāhi* title is found. *Sh* is often read as '*kh*' even up to this day, therefore, *shaharāṭa* is easily written as *khaharāta* or in Sanskrit *Kshaharāta* (compare *Pashto* and *Pakhto*, the language of the Pathans, as also *manushya* and the Punjabi word *maunkha*). If this equation is correct, it is certain that these *shāhis* or *Khaharatas* accompanied Kālakāchārya from Sind. The suffix *rāṭa* may be the Sanskrit form, and the meaning may be the king of the Shāhīs. But Dr. Sten Konow proposes another meaning for this word : "It may contain *Kshahara*, Pers. *Shahr*, and, as pointed out to me by Professor Morgenstiesne a word corresponding to Avestan *rada*, caretaker.[2]

I. BHŪMAKA, THE KSHAHARĀTA

In 1904 Prof. Rapson discovered the existence of an earlier member of the family of Kshaharāta Nahapāna, Bhūmaka by name. So far, no reference to him in Indian literature has been traced. He is known only from coins. Vincent Smith takes him to be a general of Gondophares.[3]

Dr. Sten Konow has suggested that Bhūmaka and Ysamotika the father of Chashṭana, are identical.[4] Prof. Sylvain Levi is also of this opinion.[5] Both these scholars say that the word *Ysam* means earth and Bhūmaka is only a Sanskrit form of this word. If this is admitted, we will have to suppose that king Ysamotika did use a Sanskrit translation of his name on his coins. This is a supposition which should be supported by similar instances from coins of other foreign rulers. But this support is not forthcoming. Dr. Deoras thinks this suggestion to be untenable.[6] Prof. Rapson also opposes

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[1] Indian Antiquary, 1926, p. 178.
[2] Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology, The Journal of Indian History, Vol XII, No. 1, p. 39.
[3] E.H.I., 4th ed., p. 220.
[4] C.I.I , Vol. II, p. LXX.
[5] J.A., Vol. XI, p. 191.
[6] Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1940, Lahore Session, p. 148.

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the suggestion when he writes, "Considerations of the type and fabric of the coins, and of the nature of the coin-legends, leave no room for doubting that Bhūmaka preceded Nahapāna, but there is, no evidence to show the relationship between them.[1]

However, the forms of *Brāhmī* and *Kharoshṭhī* letters on their coins make a long interval between them impossible. Raychaudhury, likewise, is unwilling to accept the theory of Levi and Konow. He writes, "identity of meaning of names need not necessarily prove identity of person."[2] It should be further remembered that the coins of Bhūmaka tell us that he was a Kshaharāta, whereas Chashṭana was not a Kshaharāta; it follows, therefore, that they belonged to separate families and that they were different persons. Greek influence is traceable as inscriptions on Bhūmaka's coins are in *Kharoshṭhī Brāhmī* and Greek alphabets.

EXTENT OF HIS SWAY. As already pointed out, sufficient material is not available for constructing a history of Bhūmaka's reign. The use of the title Kshatrapa on his coins shows that he had to govern only a small kingdon. We have to depend mainly upon archaeological remains in order to determine the extent of his rule. Two statues, discovered at Bheraghat near Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh, installed by his daughter, suffice to prove that the region around Jabalpur was in his possession.[3] It is possible that the Sātavāhanas might have been his foes in those parts. His coins have been discovered in various parts. But this is not as authentic a source as the places where statues or other archaeological remains have been found.

II. NAHAPĀNA, THE KSHAHARĀTA, AN IRANIAN NAME

Nahavana,[4] Naravāha, Naravāhana, Nirvāhana,[5] Nakhavān

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1 Catalogue, p. CVIII.

2 P.H.A.I., p. 423, n. 1. 4th ed.

3 See above p. 26.

4 Dr. Jayaswal showed similarity between Nahapāna and Nahavāṇa of the Jain tradition in his article 'The Brahmin Empire' published in the "Daily Express" an English paper from Patna for the year 1914.

5 Āin-i-Akbari, Eng. Tr. by Jarrett, Vol II, p. 210.

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and Nakhapāna (as in one manuscript of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*) are all variants of the one name Nahapāna. This name is not Indian. It is certainly an Iranian name; *naha*=people and *pana*=protector, Thus, Nahapāna means a protector of people and corresponds better to the Indian word *Naravāha* than to *Janapāla* as Dr. V.R. Deoras thinks.[1]

HIS TITLES. We know very little about the emergence and rule of Nahapāna in Indian history, except through the light thrown by the inscriptions of his son-in-law Ushavadāta and his minister Ayama. These inscriptions, which mention him as a Kshatrapa, throw light on the political, social, economic and religious conditions of those times. In the Junar inscription of his minister Ayama, of the *Vatsa gotra*, he is mentioned as a Mahākshatrapa and a *Svāmī*. On his coins Nahapāna is styled simply as *rājan* with the family designation Kshaharāta. All the titles Kshatrapa, Mahākshatrapa, *Svāmi* and Rājan show that he must have been a powerful ruler.

DURATION OF HIS REIGN. Early Jain tradition as recorded in *Tiloya Paṇṇattī*[2] and *Ādipurāṇa*[3] assigns a reign of 40 years to Nahapāna, after the Gardabhillas and just before the Chashṭanas, who are followed by the Guptas. The *Purāṇas*[4] place Nakhavāna in the period of the later Śuñgas. This view supported by the evidence of *Yugapurāṇa* of *Gārgī Saṁhitā*, clearly establishes an early date for Nahapāna.

DEFEAT AND DEATH. Nahapāna's defeat is described in the *Niryukti* commentary by Bhadrabāhu Svāmī on *Āvaśyakasūtra* of the Śvetāmbara Jains. K.P. Jayaswal was the first scholar to draw the attention of historians to this work. Dr. Deoras has summarized the whole Jain account in the following lines :

'An old Jain *Gāthā* found in a commentary of the Āvaśyaka Sūtra states that Bharukaccha (Bharuyaccha) was famous for the

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[1] Proceedings, Indian History Congress, Lahore Session, 1940, p. 149.
[2] IV. 1507.
[3] Ch. 60, verses 487 f.
[4] Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 49.

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religious teachers, Jinadeva and Kuṇāla, Sātavāhana the king of Paithan (Paiṭhāṇa) and Nahavana (Nahavāṇa). Two commentaries, one in Sanskrit and the other in Prākrit, explain this *gāthā*. According to the commentaries Nahavāna had amassed a great wealth and was staying at Bharukaccha, his capital. King Sātavāhana (Sālvāhana) at Pratishṭhāna was famous for his powerful army. The latter invested Bharukaccha for two years, but was unable to capture it. He then retired to Paiṭhāṇa. After some time one of the ministers of Sātavāhana went to Nahapāna and said that he had been turned out by his ungrateful master. This was, of course, a clever ruse on the part of Sātavāhana. Nahapāna believing the minister, took him in his service. The Minister then advised Nahapāna to gain religious merit by spending his money on charities, and to secure a place distinction for himself in the next world. Nahapāna spent a large amount from his treasury on religious benefactions. Next time when Sātavāhana besieged Nahapāna's Capital, it fell owning to lack of funds, and Nahapāna himself died during the siege.'[1]

The historical value of the tradition mentioned in the Jain work is very great. We know from it that Nahapāna was defeated by a Sātavāhana king. Vāsiṣṭhiputra's inscription states that Gautamīputra, 'uprooted the Khakharāta family and destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas.'[2] This is confirmed by the fact that Gautamīputra restruck two-third of the Jogalthembi hoard of the coins of Nahapāna with his own name.

HIS COINS. Coins of Nahapāna furnish evidence about many useful facts. They show Graeco-Indian and Roman influences. They

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[1] Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1940, p. 150. The *Śrutāvatāra-kathā* of Śrīdhara, in another Jain tradition, makes one Naravāhana a Jain mendicant. This Naravāhana, contrary to the above tradition, was the king of Vammideśa and Vasundharā town. He got a son by worshipping Padmāvati. A Jain *Saṁgha* came to Vasundharā. The king of Magadha accompanied the *saṁgha* as a mendicant. Naravāhana also became a Jain *muni* and was known as 'Bhūtabali.' He was the first to reduce to writing the Jain canon (quoted in 'Saraswati,' Vol. XXIX, pp. 748, 749)

[2] E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 60.

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set a standard followed by the later Western Kshatrapas, the Guptas and the Traikūṭakas. Only one specimen of his copper coins has so far been discovered. The provenance of this coin is Ajmer. The Jogalthembi (Nasik District) hoard of 1325 coins discovered in 1906 brought an immense store of his silver coins to light. These coins exhibit an extraordinary diversity not only in the apparent age but, also in the facial features of Nahapāna. Some writers are of opinion that all these effigies could not have been portraits of any single individual. This is not reasonable as they might be showing various stages of his life.

His coins bear the insignia of the thunderbolt, arrow and discus, which connect him with the Pārthians and the northern Satraps, Hagana and Hagamash. The resemblance of his coins with those of king Rājubula is not surprising, as both belong to the Kshaharāta dynasty.[1] This shows that Nahapāna cannot be placed in the era which begins with 78 A.D. He must be of the period of Rājubula, whose accepted date also requires investigation.

Two-thirds of the Jogalthembi hoard were restruck by Gautamīputra, the destroyer of the Khakharātas. As mentioned above, it is in keeping with inscriptional evidence that Gautamīputra defeated the Kshaharātas. The coins of Nahapāna bear inscriptions in the *Kharoshṭhī*, *Brāhmī* and Greek alphabets.

III USHAVADĀTA, THE ŚAKA

HIS NAME AND FAMILY. As regards Ushavadāta's name many writers think that Ṛshabhadatta is the original Sanskrit form of Ushavadāta. Rapson, for instance, writes, 'To this class belongs the Śaka Uṣavadāta (Riṣabhadatta), the brother-in-law (*sic*) of Nahapāna.'[2] This theory will not bear examination. The minds of the Śakas could not have been saturated with Indian influence at that early period. Ushavadāta is a pure Śaka name. In his inscriptions, the only forms mentioned are Ushavadāta and Usabhadāta. The Nasik

[1] J.R.A.S., 1926, p. 653.

[2] Cambridge History of India, p. 577.

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cave inscription No. 10 which is mostly in Sanskrit, gives the name as Ushavadāta and not Ṛshabhadatta, its Sanskritized form. It is evident, therefore, that Ṛshabhadatta is not the original form. This is the view of Dr. Deoras also. He thinks Ushavadāta to be a genuine Śaka name.[1] The Nasik inscription No. 14 distinctly says that he was a Śaka. His father *Dinīka* also bears a Śaka name. *Dinīka* may be derived from middle Perian *Dynyk*, which in its turn is derived from an old Iranian word *Dainiyak*.[2] It may mean, 'faithful' or 'godly.'

Ushavadāta's wife Dakshamitrā, the daughter of Nahapāna, bears a purely Indian name. It is, therefore, probable that Dakshamitrā was the daughter of Nahapāna by an Indian wife. The building of a small room by Dakshmitrā for charitable purposes shows her generosity.[3]

Ushavadāta seems to have owed allegiance to some other king, as one Nasik cave inscription shows that he went to liberate Uttambhadras from the Malayas, in order to execute the order of his overlord.

The name of his son, Mitradevaṇaka, seems also to be an Indian name. A small inscription shows that he also had his share in charitable works. He donated a pillar.[4]

HIS GENEROSITY. Ushavadāta was very generous in his benefactions. His activities in social welfare are praiseworthy. His benefactions consisted of a large number of objects, from inns, wells, tanks, etc , to immense sums of money. He gave lacs of cows in charity. He was called a *dharmātmā*, a religious man.[5] He was impartial in these matters. Both the Buddhists and Brāhmaṇas were recipients of his charity. Moreover, a number of place names[6]

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1 Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1940, p. 149.
2 Ibid.
3 E.I., Vol. VIII, pp. 81 and 85.
4 E.I., Vol. VII, p. 56.
5 E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 78, No. 10.
6 For the names see the inscriptions given in the appendix.

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associated with his gifts, *viz.*, Govadhana-Vātha, Chikhalapadra-*grāma*, Prabhāsa, Bharukachchha, Daśapaura, Śorapāraga, Ujjayini, etc., show that these acts of charity were distributed over widely situated parts of India.

IV. AYAMA

The Junār cave inscription[1] dated in the year 46 brought to light the existence of Ayama, a minster of Nahapāna. This solitary source of information about him shows that he was of the *vatsa gotra*. The name Ayama appears not to be Indian, but his *gotra* shows Āryan origin. In this inscription his benefactions are recorded.

[1] Archaeological Survey, Western India, Vol. IV, No. 24, p. 96.

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CHAPTER SIX

THE CHASHṬANA DYNASTY

Tiloya Paṇṇatti is the oldest Indian work known at present which has preserved the name Chashṭana. The reading in the ms. of R.B. Hiralal is *Bhacchaṭṭaṇāṇa* (भच्छट्टणाण).[1] The reading of the printed edtion is *Bhatthaṭṭhaṇāṇa* (भत्थट्टणाण).[2] Of the two readings, the reading of R.B. Hiralal is decidedly the better one. This reading is supported by the *Kharoshṭhī* legend of the king's name, *Chaṭhanasa*, as read on his coins. The word Chashṭana here is in the plural and, therefore, stands for the dynasty.

Indian tradition places *Bhachchhaṭhanas* or *Bhṛtya-Chashṭanas* or *Bhadra-Chashṭanas* just after Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta. *Bhṛtya Chashṭanas* are certainly Chashṭana and his successors and no others. It is known from inscriptions that Ysamotika was not an important figure in those times. He may have been an ordinary soldier in the service of Nahapāna or Gautamīputra. There is nothing to prove that he ever ruled any part of western India. The dynasty is not named after him. In India dynasties were generally named after great kings: as, for example, the Yādava dynasty, the Paurava dynasty, the Ikshavāku dynasty, the Gupta dynasty and so on. So, Chashṭana must have gained power to be called the founder of a dynasty. Some time after the defeat of the Kshaharātas at the hands of Gautamīputra, Chashṭana may have raised his head and achieved importance.

THE KARDAMAKA KINGS

Rapson thinks the name of the dynasty to be Kardamaka. He refers to an inscription in the Kaṇherī caves where the daughter of a Śaka king Ru (dradāman ?) boasts that she is descended from the

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[1] Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākrit Mss. in the C.P. and Berar, p. XVI.

[2] Tiloya Paṇṇatti, Ch. IV, gāthās 1507 and 1508.

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family of the Kardamaka kings. Raychaudhuri does not agree with him and surmises that the word *Kardamaka* refers only to those who lived on the banks of the Kardama, a river in Persia.[1] Neither of these scholars have been able to grasp the right meaning of this word. Kardama territory is modern Sidhapur. Here was the hermitage of the great sage *Kardama*: the territory surrounding this hermitage has derived its name from that sage. This part of Gujarata, was under the Śakas; and the boast of the daughter of Ru(dradāman) was right. Kardamaka, then, is not the name of the dynasty, but denotes the territory where Rudradāman's forefathers ruled. Chashṭana may at first have been a petty chief of that locality. Kardama was a territory in Gujarata or some where near it, is further proved by the following statements :

1. A Kardama village is mentioned in the Nerur copper plate of Śaka year 622.[2]
2. A *Kardama-bhūpati*, ruler of *Tribhuvana-giri* is mentioned in the *praśasti* of *Prabhāvaka-Charita*.[3]
3. Another *Kardama-rāja*, author of many *sūktis* and son of a *Rudra*, the author of *Trailokya Sundarī* is mentioned in the introductory verses of *Tilakamañjarī* by Dharmapāla (975 A.D.) while eulogising ancient poets :[4]

   Samabāndhaka-vidhvaṁsī rudraḥ kairnābhinandyate,
   Suślishṭa-lalitā yasya kathā Trailokyasundarī
   Santu Kardamarājasya katham hṛidyā na sūktayaḥ,
   Kavistrailokyasundaryāḥ yasya prajñanidhiḥ pitā.

Now, the quastion arises whether this '*Rudra*' belonged to the royal family of Chashṭanas or not? In the absence of more authoritative material, it is difficult to surmise anything. Anyhow, *Kardamarāja* appears to be a title only.

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[1] P.H.A.I., 4th ed., p. 423.

[2] History of Solankis by Gauri Shankar Hira Chand Ojha, quoted in Jain Sahitya aur Itihasa, p. 88, note 1.

[3] End, Verse 5.

[4] समबान्धकविध्वंसी रुद्रः कैर्नाभिनन्द्यते । सुश्लिष्टललिता यस्य कथा त्रैलोक्यसुन्दरी ।
सन्तु कर्दमराजस्य कथं हृद्या न सूक्तयः । कविस्त्रैलोक्यसुन्दर्याः यस्य प्रज्ञानिधिः पिता ।।
History of Sanskrit Literature, Krishnamachariar, p. 475.

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The name Ysamotika is of the Śaka language and therefore, the dynasty of Chashṭana may safely be regarded as a Śaka dynasty. *Tiloya Paṇṇatti* also supports this conclusion by identifying the Chashṭanas with the Śakas. Bāṇa, the court poet of king Harshavardhana, relates the story of a Śaka king who was killed by Chandragupta, the Gupta. This Śaka king must have been a descendant of Ysamotika. So the dynasty may be regarded as the Śaka dynasty.

DURATION OF THE DYNASTY. The *Purāṇas* refer to this dynasty as having ruled for 380 years.[1] Pargiter translates this figure as 183,[2] but this interpretation is not acceptable. According to unanimous Jain tradition, Nahapāna ruled for 40 years, and the Chashṭanas for 242 years. This gives a totat of 282 years. The *Purāṇas* do not mention Nahapāna separately. Therefore, the total of 282 years may be regarded as approximately correct. It is known that Śaka coins show a continuous rule of about 300 years. The figure 282 is near this total. Therefore, 183 cannot be the right interpretation. Moreover, '*e*' *Vāyu* which is the best of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* manuscripts,[3] used by Pargiter, gives only 300 years for the eighteen Śakas. After this period the Śakas had gone into background.

I. MAHĀKSHATRAPA CHASHṬANA

Chashṭana, the son of Ghsamotika, was the founder of a new dynasty. There are diverse views as to his relation to the Kshaharātas.[4] Rapson is right in concluding that they belonged to different families. The use of the *Kharoshṭhī* alphabet and the character of their names and titles prove their northern and foreign origin. Some scholars have tried to solve this problem. Binayatosh Bhaṭṭāchārya read on the bottom of a statue, found in the *Devakula* or Statue-temple at Mathura, where the statues of Kanishka, his son, and Wima Kadphises

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[1] Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 46.
[2] Ibid, p. 72 and introduction, p. XXV.
[3] Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 46, Note 48.
[4] Catalogue, p. CXII.

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were found, the word *Sastana.*[1] Ojha, Har Prasad Śāstri, Spooner and Jayaswal accepted this reading. Scholars take it to be the name of Chashṭana and connect him with the Kuśāṇas. But *Sastana* cannot be connected with the word Chashṭana. Inscritions of the time of Kanishka are in Prākrit, and the Prākrit form of Chashṭana is *Cathana;* but *Sastana* has only 't' and not 'th.' Therefore, the suggestion of these scholars is untenable. Moreover, the Kushāṇas were *Tushāras*, and they had no relation with the Śakas. As already shown, the two tribes were altogether different.

DURATION OF REIGN: The duration of Chashṭana's reign has greatly baffled scholars. Rapson writes, 'All that is known as to the duration of Chashṭaṇa's reign, both as Kṣatrapa and mahākṣatrapa, is that it must be included, together with the reign of his son Jayadāman as Kṣatrapa, in the period limited by the years 46 and 72[2] of some era. It is certain, as also corroborated by Indian tradition, that there was no interegnum between Nahapāna and Chashṭana. The latest find of an inscription of Chashṭana of year 11 has dismissed these surmises and settled the issue for ever. He, as the originator of the dynasty, had ruled from the very first year and continued to rule at least up to the 52nd year.

The Andhau inscriptions of Chashṭana and Rudradāmana which are in Prakrit mixed with Sanskrit, have given rise to considerable controversy. The inscriptions read:

> Rājño Chāshṭanasa Ysāmotika putrasa rājño Rudradāmasa Jayadāma putrasa Varshe 52.[3]

Scholars have interpreted these lines differently. Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar[4] and R.C. Majumadar[5] think that these inscriptions belong to the period of the joint rule of Chashṭana and Rudradāman.

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[1] J.B.O.R.S., 1920, pp. 51-53.
[2] Catalogue, p. CXII.
[3] See Appendix, राज्ञो चाष्टनस य्सामोतिक पुत्रस राज्ञो रुद्रदामस जयदाम-पुत्रस वर्षे 52.
[4] I.A., Vol. XLVII, p. 154, n. 26.
[5] Cf. ibid.

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R.D. Bannerji does not accept this suggestion. He says that there is no parallel case of this type in the history of India.[1] It seems that the original of the inscription was written by a man who knew very little of the current mode of writing. He has, therefore, been unable to make himself clear.

HIS CAPITAL. If we rely on Ptolemy, then the capital of Chashṭana or the Chashṭanas (Tiastanes) was Ujjain (Ozene).[2] Rapson shows the contemporaneity of Vāsishṭhī-putra Śrī Pulumāvī with Chashṭana by referring to the mention by Ptolemy of Paithan as the capital of the Āndhra king.[3]

II. JAYADĀMAN

Jayadāman was the son of Chashṭana. He was only Kshatrapa. It has been assumed that during his reign the power of the dynasty suffered some diminution, probably through an Āndhra conquest. This is also evident from the boast of Rudradāman that he had won and not inherited his title.

He adds the title *Svāmī* on his coins. His other two titles were *Rājā* and *Kshatrapa*. The title *Svāmī* regularly appears in inscriptions of the early members of the dynasty and on the coins of the later rulers from the time of Svāmī Rudradāman II onwards. The names of rulers also assume an Indian form. Except the termination *ghsada* which changes into *jada* and the form *dāman*, the names of rulers do not denote any foreign origin.

His copper coins are square in form. The first variety has on the obverse the figure of a humped bull. The reverse has a *chaitya* of 6 arches while the usual number is three, The copper coins of the second variety bear the figure of an elephant and Ujjain symbol. The inscription, on these coins is incomplete. Rapson writes, "If it could be proved that this coin was struck by Jayadāman, the fact that it

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[1] E.I., Vol. XVI, pp. 22-23.
[2] VII. 1. 63.
[3] Catalogue, p. CXIII

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resembles the coins of Ujjaini would connect it with the city which was probably the capital or one of the capitals of his kingdom."[1]

A Śaka prince of Surāshṭra, *Jayanandaka* or *Jayantaka* by name is mentioned in the *Bhāṇa Pādatāḍitaka* of *Śyāmilaka*.[2] Of the reading *Nandaka* and *Antaka*, the latter appears to be a corrupt one. If such is the case then *Nandaka* may be a Sanskrit rendering of *Dāman*.

Dr. Sten Konow did not accept this equation. According to him the word *dāma* is Iranian. He compares it with the, Avestan *dāman*, meaning place or creation.[3] The suggestion is, however, open for the present, and so far, there is no evidence to prove that the names Jayanandaka and Jayadāman are of the same person. Moreover, the Jayanandaka of this drama appears to be different from the Kshatrapa Jayadāman.

THE RISE OF THE CHASHṬANAS

III. MAHĀKSHATRAPA RUDRADĀMAN

Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman and grandson of Chashṭana became an independent Mahākshatrapa sometime between the years 52 and 72 of the era used by the rulers of this dynasty. His name shows that Śaiva influence had penetrated the Śaka royal family. The sources of information for his rule are Andhau and Giranāra rock inscriptions and some coins. Even after discounting the poetic fancy of the writer, we get a lot of material for the reconstruction of the history of his reign from the Giranara inscription.

The Giranāra inscription furnishes the following facts:

(a) election of Rudradāman as the king.
(b) conquests made by Rudradāman, in Southern and Northern India.
(c) history of the Surāshṭra region; and
(d) administrative and personal qualities of the king.

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[1] Catalogue, p. CXVIII.
[2] Caturbhāṇī, Patna ed., p. 7 and 39.
[3] Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology,p. 38.

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He won for himself the title of Mahākshatrapa.[1] According to Dr. Raychaudhuri "this probably indicates that the power of his house had been shaken by some enemy (possibly Gautamīputra), and he had to restore the supreme satrapal dignity by his own prowess."[2] Men of all classes, i.e , all his subjects chose him as their protector.[3] He seems to have adopted Indian mode of living. He was well versed in various sciences such as grammar (*śabda*), polity (*artha*), music (*gandharva*), logic (*nyāya*) and many others.[4] It was his knowledge of grammar which made him well versed in Sanskrit. His love for the Sanskrit language is apparent from the fact that the inscriptions of many other Śaka rulers are in Prākrit mixed with Sanskrit, but the famous inscription of Rudradāman is in pure and elegant Sanskrit. He took, and kept to the end of his life, the vow to stop killing men except in battle.[5] This shows how humane and civilized his rule was. He was will versed in the art of warfare, as the enumeration of his conquests prove. His rule does not seem to have been oppressive. The number of taxes levied does not seem to have been large. The Sudarśana lake was repaired "by spending a great amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people of the town and the province by exacting taxes (*kara*) forced labour (*vishṭi*), benevolences (*praṇaya*) and the like.[6] Moreover, he adopted the ancient Indian mode of government, by appointing *Mati-Sachivas* (counsellors) and *Karma-Sachivas* (executive officers) who were fully endowed with the qualifications of a minister.[7]

HIS DOMINIONS: The Giranāra inscription is an important source of information. Rudradāman mentions his sway over the following territories :

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[1] स्वयमधिगत महाक्षत्रपनाम्ना ।

[2] P.H.A.I., 4th ed., p. 424.

[3] सर्ववर्णैरभिगम्य रक्षणार्थं पतित्वे वृतेन.....

[4] शब्दार्त्थ-गान्धर्व्व-न्यायाद्यानां विद्यानां.....

[5] [आ]प्राणोच्छ्वासात्पुरुष-वध-निवृत्ति-कृत सत्यप्रतिज्ञेन-अन्य[त्र] संग्रामेषु .....

[6] अपीडयि[त्व]ा कर-विष्टि-प्रणय-क्रियाभिः पौरजानपदं जनं स्वस्मात्कोशा(त्) महत्ता-धनौघेन .....

[7] मतिसचिव-कर्मसचिवैरमात्यगुणसमुद्युक्तैः.....

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1. *Pūrva-apara Ākara-Avanti :* or East Mālwā and west Mālwā. The capital of East Mālwā was Vidiśā and that of West Mālwā was Ujjain. Rudradāman must have made Ujjain his capital.

2. *Anūpa :* the modern Maheśvara in Nimar district on the river Narbadā, lying south of Mālwā.

3. *Nīvṛta :* is, so far, unidentified.

4. *Ānartta :* the terriorty of North Kathiawar was known as Ānartta. Its ancient capital was Ānandapura, the modern Vaḍnagar. The name Ānartta appears frequently in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas.*

5. *Surāshṭra :* Surāshṭra is south Kathiawar. Giranāra, the find-spot of the inscription, formed part of Surāshṭra.

6. *Śvabhra* the territory of Sābaramatī.

7. *Maru-Kachchha :* If Maru-kachchha be accepted as the correct reading then Maru means the desert part of Rājaputānā and Kachchha denotes the modern Kutch. But if Maru is a scribal mistake for Bharu, Bharu-Kachchha will be one word, denoting Bharoch. In the inscription, this name is not clearly legible.

8. *Sindhu :* is the lower Indus region, the original home of the Śakas, whence they had come to Gujarat and Kathiawar.

9. *Sauvīra :* Multan was the ancient capital of this kingdom.

10. *Kukura :* a part of Rājaputānā, and the *Kin-che-lo* of Hiuen Tsiang. Kukura Yādavas are also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata.*

11. *Aparānta :* According to the *Purāṇas* the western part of India had in it the famous ports of Sopārā and Bharukachchha

[1] See Bombay Gazetter, Vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 36, n. 7.

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and territories like Nasik. As Kachchha or Bharu-Kachchha is already enumerated, Apāranta according to the inscription, must have been a small territory only.

12. *Nishada* was the country of western Vindhyas and Arāvali.

13. *Yaudheya.* The Yaudheya *Kshatriyas* lived in the Bigayagarh region of Bharatapura and in Johyabāra in the Bahāwalapura State.

It is evident that the greatest Śaka king had ruled as far as Multan in the north and up to Nasik and Sopārā in the south-west. The region of Mathura, which was once under the Kshatrapas had passed from the hands of the later Śakas. Some very powerful rulers must have established themselves in those parts, for even a king like Rudradāman could not subdue them.

Rudradāman twice defeated Sātakarṇī, the lord of the *Dakshiṇāpatha*, but did not destory him. Sātakarṇī had married the daughter of Rudradāman and hence he was not killed by the Mahā kshatrapa. Rudradāman reinstated many deposed kings. Centuries after him Samudragupta or Harisheṇa, the writer of his *Praśasti*, also took pride in making a similar statement. There is no doubt that the Gupta emperor borrowed this idea from Rudradāman. Rudradāman had probably wrested Sindhu-Sauvīra region and lower and middle Indus valley from the Kushāṇas, as the Sui-Vihar Kharoshṭhi inscription of the year 11 proves the mastery of Kanishka over this region. Besides, the two-fold warfare against the Sātavāhanas and the Kushāṇas, Rudradāman successfully fought the Yaudheyas, proud and indomitable. The Giranāra inscription also refers to other territory, not specified, as conquered by his own prowess.

History of Surāshṭra region, as preserved in the Giranāra epigraph dates back to the days of the Mauryas. The irrigation system of Sudarśana lake, was first planned by the *Vaiśya rāshṭrīya* Pushyagupta under Chandragupta Maurya. It was improved by Aśoka's governor Yavanarāja Tushāspa. In Rudradāman's time this dam had

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again burst and was repaired under the supervision of his governor, the Parthian Suviśākha, son of Kulaipa.

EARLY HISTORY OF KATHIAWAR

The coins of Nahapāna and many other early Western Kshatrapas had inscription in Greek letters also. The coins of Rudradāman have Greek letters, but his title Mahākthatrapa is not transliterated into Greek. The use of Greek letters was slowly dying out. As early as Aśoka Maurya, a Greek Tushaspha was his Governor in this territory. The usage of the Greek letters on coins could have been the result of the sojourn of such Greeks. According to *Mahāvaṁśa*, a Yona priest *Dhammarakhita* was sent to Aparānta to further the cause of Buddhism, about 250 years after Buddha. Greek letters were not used by Nahapāna alone for the first time, but were already in use by foreigners who lived in this part of India.

Rapson has expressed that from the period of Rudradāman onwards the inscription in Greek characters probably ceases to have any meaning. It becomes a mere ornament, and traces of it thus continue to appear on the coins until the end of the dynasty."[2]

IV. DĀMAGHSADA (DĀMAJADAŚRI) I

The name of this ruler is spelled as *Ghsada* according to Rapson. *Śrī* signifies royal respect. *Ghsada* may be read as *Ysada*, as in Ghsamotika or Ysamotika. *Ysa* reading seems to be correct than *jada*. Its change from *Ysada* to *Jada* appears to be simple. The name again is purely Śaka; to surmise, his mother may have been of Saka descent. Dāmajadaśrī I and Rudrasiṁha were two sons of Rudradāman. Their coins bear testimony to the relation. The coins further tell that Dāmajadaśrī was a Kshatrapa as well as a Mahākshatrapa. He appeārs to have been the elder brother. The dated coins furnish evidence that after his death, a quarrel ensued for the throne between his son Jīvadāman and his brother Rudrasiṁha I. The latter appears to have won in this struggle.

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[1] Mahāvaṁśa, Geiger's ed., p. 82.

[2] Catalogue, p. 78.

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He carried on the tradition of his father for using Sanskrit language. The legend on his known coin is in correct Sanskrit.[1] His son Satyadāman also continued the use of Sanskrit.

So far, no inscriptions are extant of his reigon. In the Gundā inscription of his brother Rudrasiṁha I and Gaḍhā inscription of his nephew Rudrasena I, Dāmaghsada finds no place in the genealogical table along with his sons Jīvadāman and Satyadāman. Rapson writes that the dated coins clearly show that, after the reign of Dāmaghsada (Dāmajadaśrī) I, there were two claimants for the succession, his son, Jīvadāman, and his brother Rudrasiṁha I. The struggle was eventually decided in favour of the latter ; and . ...the successful family omitted from its genealogical lists the names of rulers whom it must have regarded as usurpers."[2]

V. MAHĀKSHATRAPA JĪVADĀMAN

Jīvadāman was the son of Dāmajadaśrī I. The series of dated coins begins with this reign. The dates are given in *Brāhmī* numerals behind the head of the king. Jīvadāman bears the title of *Mahākshatrapa* on his coins. He was in full power from the year 100 to 103 and from 110 to 113. During the intervening period it seems his uncle Rudrasiṁha had usurped the throne. Again, in the years 119 and 120 he rose to power. His reign must have been a period of continuous war amongst members of his own house.

In his Junāgarh inscription of *varshe* 100+....., he is termed as *svāmī*. This inscription is fragmentary and no further information can be gleaned.

VI. MAHĀKSHATRAPA RUDRASIṀHA I

Rudrasiṁha I was the younger son of the famous Rudradāman I. His is the first name in the line of the Śaka kings which is purely Indian. His mother may have been Indian. Rapson[3]

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[1] रुद्रदाम्नः पुत्रस्य क्षत्रपस्य दाम(द्स) Catalogue, p. CXXIV.
[2] Ibid, p. CXXIII.
[3] Ibid, p. CXXVI

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has clearly summed up his reign in the following manner :

1. "as Kshatrapa, for the first time in the year 102-103;
2. as Mahākshatrapa, for the first time from 103-110;
3. as Kshatrapa for the second time from 110-112; and
4. as Mahākshatrapa, for the second time definitely from 115-118 and possibly in 119."

Similar to the rule of Jīvadāman, the reign of Rudrasiṁha must have been a period of constant struggle.

Gundā inscription tells that an Ābhīra *Senāpati* Rudrabhūti, son of *Senāpati* Bāpaka was in the military service of the Śakas. The Mevasā inscription also mentions an Ābhīra Vasuraka. The Gundā inscription designates Rudrasiṁha as Mahākshatrapa.

In his inscription of the year 105, he has used the titles *rājan* Mahākshatrapa and *svāmī*.[1] The same titles are used in another inscription of the year 114.[2]

The use of Prākrit on his coins indicates Sātavāhana influence. Rapson observes that "the earliest coins of this prince bear a youthful head without moustache. The moustache, which is generally seen in portraits of the Western Kshatrapas, appears first on the coins of Rudrasiṁha I the year 103."[3]

VII. KSHATRAPA SATYADĀMAN

Satyadāman, son of Dāmaghsada (Dāmajadaśrī) I, is known from a single coin only. The coin-legend is in perfect Sanskrit mentioning Satyadāman as the son of Dāmajadaśrī I. The date of the issue of the coin is not given. It was issued when Satyadāman was a Kshatrapa. Unless more coins of this king come to light, it is difficult to determine the period of his reign.

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[1] See pp. 31-32 above.

[2] See p. 32 above.

[3] catalogue, p. CXXVII.

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Rapson, however, writes, 'the reign of Satyadāman as kṣatrapa was concurrent either with that of his father as mahākṣatrapa, or with the first reign of his brother Jīvadāman, as mahākṣatrapa.'[1]

VIII. MAHĀKSHATRAPA RUDRASENA I

In the Bhavanagar Sanskrit and Prākrit Inscriptions, the date of the Mulvasar (Dwarka) stone inscription of Rudrasena is read as *varshe* 232.[2] This date was corrected to 122 by Rapson[3] and by Luders in his list.[4]

Fortunately, there is another inscription found at Gaḍhā of the year 127 or 126 which belongs to Rudrasena I. This inscription is very important as it gives the longest genealogical table of this dynasty. Here, the adjective *Bhadramukha* is used with the names of Chashṭana, Rudradāman and Rudrasiṁha. The dynasty was perhaps, called the *Bhadra* dynasty also, as is evident from the form *Bhaṭ-Chashṭanas* of *Tiloya Paṇṇatti*.[5]

He calls himself the son of Rudrasiṁha on his coins, which designate him as a Kshatrapa in the year 121. His reign as a Mahākshatrapa may be fixed approximately between the years 122 and 144.

A Buddhist monastery named after him is referred to in a clay sealing from Intwa.[6]

Mahādevī Prabhudāmā,[7] a sister of Rudrasena, is mentioned in an oval seal in red clay, showing a standing bull in the centre facing and the following legend in a continuous circle around the edge:

Rājño mahākshatrapasya svāmī-Rudrasiṁhasya duhitu rājño mahākshatrapasya svāmī Rudrasenasya bhaginyā mahādevyā Prabhudamāyā(ḥ).[7]

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1 Ibid., p. CXXIX.
2 Above, p. 32.
3 Catalogue, p. CXXIX.
4 E.I., Vol. X, No. 962.
5 See, Ch. IX.
6 E.I., Vol. XXVIII, p. 174 f; see p. 33 above.
7 राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामी रुद्रसिंहस्य दुहितु राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामी रुद्रसेनस्य भगिन्या महादेव्या प्रभुदमाया(:) A.S.I., A.R., 1913-14, p. 136, No 248,

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The seal was found in the excavations at Basarh. Another seal of Mahādevī Prabhudāmā had also been found at Basarh during these excavations.[1]

IX. KSHATRAPA PRITHVĪSENA

Prithvīsena was the son of Rudrasena I. He was merely a Kshatrapa and reigned in the year 144 only. His coins are rare and more details about him are not available.

X. MAHĀKSHATRAPA SAṄGHADĀMAN

Saṅghadāman, son of Rudrasiṁha I, was the uncle of Prithvīsena. His coins, which are very rare, tell that he ruled as a Mahākshatrapa in the years 144 and 145. His brother, Rudrasena I, must have died in the beginning or middle of the year 144.

XI. MAHĀKSHATRAPA DĀMASENA

Dāmasena may possibly have been the youngest son of Rudrasiṁha I. He reigned as Mahākshatrapa between the years 145 and 158. About the year 158 there was a set-back to the power of the Chashṭanas when Mahākshatrapa Īśvaradatta had usurped power.

XII. KSHATRAPA DĀMAJADAŚRI II

Dāmajadaśrī II was the son of Rudrasena I and brother of Prithvīsena. His coins bear the dates 154 and 155. He was a Kshatrapa under his uncle, Mahākshatrapa Dāmasena.

XIII. KSHATRAPA VĪRADĀMAN

Vīradāman was the son of Dāmasena and was a Kshatrapa from the year 156 to 160. Some new coins of the Western Kshatrapas have come to light.[2] There are two coins which are dated in the years 157 and 158 and belong to Vīradāman. The obverse is obliterated in both these coins and hence the names are not legible.

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[1] Ibid, p. 141, No. 347.

[2] Journal Numismatic Society of India, 1939, pp. 24, 25.

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MAHĀKSHATRAPA ĪŚVARADATTA

During the rule of Dāmajadaśrī and Vīradāman, as a Kshatrapa, Dāmasena was ruling as a Mahākshatrapa. His rule continued up to the year 158. The next king Yaśodāman of the Chashṭana line was also a Kshatrapa. His coins are dated in the years 160 and 161. He used the title of Mahākshatrapa in 161. Who was Mahākshatrapa during the years 159 and 160 and even probably for parts of the years 158 and 161?

Rapson has catalogued coins of a Mahākshatrapa Īśvaradatta,[1] which fit in with the coins of this dynasty, and therefore, suggests that Mahākshatrapa Īśvaradatta was the overlord during these years. Īśvaradatta did not belong to the Chashṭana line. It is apparent from the fact that his coins, unlike those of the Śakas, are dated in his regnal years. Bhagavan Lal and Rapson are of the view that Īśvaradatta belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty of Nasik.[2] The Nasik cave inscriptions contain an inscription of an Ābhīra king Īśvarasena son of Śivadatta, who records his date in his regnal years. The presumption of Bhagavan Lal and Rapson looks probable, though not quite certain. The truth can be ascertained when more material on the subject is discovered. That Ābhīraka princes had '*datta*' ending names is further proved by the one-act play *Pādatāḍitakam*[3] where an Ābhīraka prince *Mayūradatta* is mentioned. Ābhīra names have a distinct similarity, *viz.*, Śivadatta, Īśvaradatta and Mayūradatta. There are traces of Greek letters on the coins of the last named king also.

An Ābhīra king Īśvaradeva is referred to in an inscription discovered at Daulatpur, district Kutch. The inscription in Sanskrit is in Gupta period *Brāhmī* characters. It is of a ruler whose name is illegible but who is described as Vasishṭhiputra. It is dated in Śaka 254, which date is not clear. Could Īśvaradeva Ābhira be the same as Īśvaradatta? If so, the date should be 154 (?) or 158 (?).[4]

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1 Catalogue, pp. 124, 125.
2 Ibid, pp. CXXXIII, CXXXIV.
3 Chaturbhāṇī, Patna ed., p. 7.
4 Indian Archaeology, A Review, 1967-68, p. 52 and ibid, 1968-69, p. 46.

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XIV. MAHĀKSHATRAPA YOŚODĀMAN I

Yośodāman was the second son of Dāmasena, and was a Kshatrapa in the year 161. He assumed the title Mahākshatrapa in the year 161. He restored the lost supremacy of his family which had been usurped by Īśvaradatta, but reigned for a year and a half only. The period must have witnessed almost continuous warfare and his death may have resulted therefrom.

XV. MAHĀKSHATRAPA VIJAYASENA

Vijayasena, the third son of Dāmasena, succeeded his brother Yaśodāman as Mahākshatrapa. He was a Kshatrapa in the year 160, and possibly in the year 161 also, along with his brothers Vīradāman and Yośodāman. In the year 162 he became a Mahākshatrapa. From the year 162, he struck coins every succeeding year up to the year 172. The dates on his coins are continuous and coin-legends are very clear. Of all the coins of the kings of this dynasty, the coins of Vijayasena are in the best condition. Rapson writes, 'the standard of the coins shows a slow degradation every year.'[1] It may be inferred that the king was gradually losing power.

XVI. MAHĀKSHATRAPA DĀMAJADAŚRI III

Dāmajadasaśrī III was the fourth son of Dāmasena. He succeeded his brother Vijayasena as Mahākshatrapa in the year 172 or 173 and ruled up to the year 176. The coins are badly struck and the degradation in their standard continues during this reign. The Śakas must have been fighting a powerful enemy and the treasury consequently diminishing every year.

XVII. MAHĀKSHATRAPA RUDRASENA II

Rudrasena II was the son of Vīradāman and succeeded his three uncles as Mahākshatrapa about the year 179 and ruled up to the year 196.

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[1] Catalogue, p. CXXXVII.

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XVIII. MAHĀKSHATRAPA VIŚVASIṀHA

Viśvasiṁha was the son of Rudrasena II. His coins being badly minted, their dates are not clear. Viśvasiṁha first ruled as Kshatrapa for one or two years and then became a Mahākshatrapa. His reign appears to have ended sometimes in the year 210 or 211, when Bhartṛdāman was ruling as Mahākshatrapa.

XIX. MAHĀKSHATRAPA BHARTṚDĀMAN

Bhartṛdāman was the son of Rudrasena II and probably the younger brother of Viśvasiṁha. He was a Kshatrapa from the year 201 to 204. He became a Mahākshatrapa in 211. His position from 205 to 210 is uncertain on account of the absence of coins. He certainly reigned up to the year 217. Was not this Bhartṛdāman same as Bhartṛhari, who was killed by a Vikrama; and who is mentioned by Captain Wilford on the authority of the *Vaṁśāvalīs*.[1]

XX. KSHATRAPA VIŚVASENA

Bhartṛdāman must have lost his supremacy and even his life in some great war. He was succeeded in the year 216 by his son Viśvasena as Kshatrapa. This prince was only a Kshatrapa. His dated coins up to the year 226 are nearly illegible.

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[1] Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, p. 152 and 202.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

DOWNFALL OF THE CHASHṬANAS

As earlier mentioned,[1] the *Purāṇas* state that there were eighteen kings of the Śaka dynasty. The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* enumerates only sixteen kings. *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* lists thirty Śaka lords, but only eighteen as *bhūpatis* or Mahākshatrapas. On the authority of these works and the coins, the number eighteen seems to be approximately correct. Bhartṛdāman was the last of these eighteen Mahākshatrapas of note. His reign extended up to the year 215. The Śakas ruled for another 100 years but their power was very much reduced. Interruption in the continuity of the coins suggests the possibility of their being at the mercy of some other power. It is not yet certain, which this power was. It may have been the conquest of Mayūraśarman which caused the humiliation of the Śakas,[2] and the Sakas may have been Kshatrapas or vassals under this king for some time. Again, sometime after Mayūraśarman, the Guptas under Samudragupta subdued the Śakas. The Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, regarded by some scholars as a posthumous inscription, clearly mentions that the Śaka lords bowed at the feet of the great Gupta emperor.

Samudragupta or *Vyāghraparākrama*, Chandragupta or *Siṁhavikrama* and Mahendragupta or *Siṁhavikrama* are well known names from coins. The Tibetan historians give to the Gupta dynasty the name of *Siṁha*.[3] The *Siṁha* dynasty was constantly at war with the Śakas. Samudragupta subdued but did not annihilate them. A Gupta Minister and a Śaka prince are seen sitting in a house together in *Sārvabhauma-narendra-pura*, a city in Surāshṭra.[4] It was *Śakāri*

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[1] Above p. 14.

[2] Above p. 36, No. 44.

[3] A Tibetan Account of Bengal by Dr. S.C. Sarkar, J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XXVII, pp. 225 and 252f.

[4] Pādatāḍitakam, p. 7, Caturbhāṇī, Patna ed.

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Vikrama or Chandragupta Vikramāditya who destroyed the Śakas and ended their rule in India. To have a clear comprehension of these incidents, it is necessary to gather together all the references to *Śakāri* Vikramāditya.

ŚAKĀRI VIKRAMĀDITYA

1. Three verses of the poet *Amaru* are preserved in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*.[1] The first verse states that *Śakaṛpu* (or the foe of the Śaka) gave ten provinces to a certain person. The third verse states that this king was the master who trained his disciples to make widows of the Śaka women. This is an ancient verse as attested by its quotation in the *Śṛñgāra-prakāśa*[2] of *Śrī Bhoja-rāja* (11th century A.D.)

The verse also indicates that Amaru was a contemporary or even a court-poet of *Śakaṛpu* Chandragupta.

2. The words '*sakaṛpu*' and '*śakarāti*' are found in the *Rāmacharita* of Abhinanda. The poet praises the foe of the Śakas who spread the works of Kālidāsa, and who was a great patron of talented poets.[3]

3. *Kshīrasvāmī* (11th century A.D.), who wrote a commentary on the lexicon of *Amara*, quotes verses from an earlier lexicographer, in one of which it is said that 'Vikramāditya *Sāhasāṅka* and *Śakāntaka* (or the foe of the Śaka) are synonyms.[4] This Vikramāditya was Chandragupta II. He was also called Sāhasāṅka. The Cambay plates of Govinda IV refer to the various deeds of Sāhasāṅka Chandragupta.

4. The copper plate of Devapāladeva, of the year 33, states that king Devapāladeva "once more cleared the way of self sacrifice

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[1] Lahore ed., p. 297.
[2] Chapter XX.
[3] Beginning of Sarga 22.
[4] Amarakosha, II. 82.

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and charity, which was blockaded by Kali at the death of *Śakadviṭ* or the foe of the Śakas."[1] Apparently the 'foe of the Śakas' was a renowned giver of charities. He was no other than Chandragupta Vikramāditya. This is gathered from the Cambay copper plate grant of Rāshṭrakūṭa Govind IV of Śaka 852,[2] and from the Sanjana copper plates of Śaka 795.[3] In the first grant, the word *tyāga* is used as a qualification of *Sāhasāṅka*, and the second grant makes it clear that this giver of charities belonged to the Gupta dynasty. From the fragments of the drama *Devī-Chandragupta*, we know that this king was no other than Chandragupta Vikramāditya.

5. *Kalhaṇa* writes in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that Vikramāditya, a relative of Pratāpāditya, was not *Śakāri-Vikramāditya* and that *Śakāri* was another king.[4]

From the above five references, it is clear that Chandragupta Vikaramāditya or Chandragupta *Sāhasāṅka*, the patron of a poet *Kālidāsa*, was the well known *Śakāri* of Indian history. It was he who finally brought the Śaka power to an end. The Mathura pillar inscription of Chandragupta shows that during the fifth regnal year of this king, sixty-one years of the Gupta era had elapsed. If one year is allowed for the rule of king Rāmagupta, it can be calculated that Samudragupta ruled up to the year fifty-five. Samudragupta may have subdued the Śakas even thirty years before that time. Mayūraśarman who preceded the Guptas, had subdued the Śakas. It is, therefore, clear that before their final overthrow, the Śakas were weakened to a great extent, and the end of the reign of Bhartṛdāman marks the weakness of the Śakas, and of the Chashṭana dynasty. By the end of the reign of Chandragupta, the Śakas were completely annihilated, as rulers.

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[1] E.I., Vol. XVII, p. 320 and Vol. XVIII, p. 305.
[2] E.I., Vol. VII, p. 38.
[3] E.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 248.
[4] II. 6.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

THE LATER ŚAKAS

I. KSHATRAPA RUDRASIṂHA II

With the beginning of the reign of Rudrasiṁha II, there is an interruption in the direct line of the Chashṭanas. Rudrasiṁha's father, *Svāmi* Jīvadāman bears no such titles as were borne by the previous rulers. The continuity of the dates on coins, however, suggests a connection with the Chashṭanas. Rapson writes, 'His (Rudrasiṁha's) title *Svāmī*, lord, and the form of his name with the characteristic, *dāman*, seem, however, to indicate near relationship to the family of Chashṭana, one of whom, indeed, had borne precisely the same name."[1] Buhler, on the other hand, suggests that he may have belonged to a younger branch of the royal family.[2] Anyhow, it seems certain that he had some connection with the Śakas.

Rudrasiṁha II became a Kshatrapa in the year 227 and remained in office up to about the year 239. In his reign and that of his successor, the office of Mahākshatrapa seems to have been held in abeyance. So far, there is no material available to show whether any one occupied this office or not.

II. KSHATRAPA YAŚODĀMAN

After Rudrasiṁha, his son Yaśodāman began to reign. His rule extends from the year 239 to 254. The incidents mentioned in the Kānākherā stone inscription of Śaka Śrīdharavarman and also the Eraṇ pillar inscription[3] are to be placed during this period, if the date of the inscription be regarded as 241. During this period there

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1 Catalogue, p. CXLI.
2 J.R.A.S., 1890, p. 66.
3 See above p. 34.

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is again a gap of about sixteen years in the continuous rule of the Kshatrapas. Coins and inscriptions do not help to fill the gap. This may be the approximate time of the conquest of Samudragupta. Inscription of Īśvaradeva Ābhīra of Śaka year 254 (?) is in Gupta Brāhmī characters and would refer to the reign of Yaśodāman.[1]

III. MAHĀKSHATRAPA SVĀMI RUDRADĀMAN II

With the beginning of this reign, the title *Svāmī* is used for all subsequent kings. Material is, so far, not available to construct a history of this ruler. Svāmi Rudradāman II is known only from the coins of his son Svāmi Rudrasena III.

IV. MAHĀKSHATRAPA SVĀMI RUDRASENA III

Rudrasena's coins are divided into two groups. The first group ranges from the year 270 to 273, the second extends from the year 286 to 300. The disappearance of the coinage between the years 273 and 286 again indicates a political disturbance. After making a careful analysis of the Uparkot hoard of coins of Svāmi Rudrasena III, the Rev. H.R. Scott wrote, 'Many of these coins, especially those of the last years, are in mint condition, fresh and unworn. From these facts... we may fairly conclude that the hoard was secreted at the end of the first period of Rudrasena's reign, and most probably it was because of the revolution which then took place, rendering life and property insecure, that the money was hidden'[2]

An inscription dated 272, found at Goṇḍal refers to Rudrasena, who according to the date of the inscription could be Rudrasena III.[3]

V. MAHĀKSHATRAPA SVĀMI SIṀHASENA

Siṁhasena was the son of a sister of Svāmi Rudrasena III. It is evident that Rudrasena III either died young and left no heir, or that his family came to an end in wars with the Guptas. So, his sister's son was installed as Mahākshatrapa. The only date on his

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[1] Ibid.

[2] J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XX, p. 209, quoted by Rapson in his Catalogue, p. CXLV.

[3] See above, p. 35.

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coins which is certain is either 304 or 306. There is a peculiar variety of his coins, on which we find written *Mahārāja-Kshatrapa-Svāmi Rudrasena-Svasriyasa.*[1] The title *Mahārāja-Kshatrapa* for Mahākshatrapa is not met with on any of the previous or later coins of this dynasty.

VI. MAHĀKSHATRAPA SVĀMI (RUDRA)SENA IV

Regarding Rudrasena IV, son of Svāmi Śiṁhasena, nothing is known except his name. Only a single coin of this king is available. The Devni-mori Relic Casket inscription dated in the *kathika year* 127, refers to Rudrasena, titled as *nṛipati*. He could be Rudrasena IV.[2]

VII. MAHĀKSHATRAPA SVĀMI SATYASIṀHA

Satyasiṁha is known only from the coins of his son. Rapson writes that 'he may have been a brother of Svāmī Siṁhasena.[3]

VIII. MAHĀKSHATRAPA SVĀMI RUDRASIṀHA III

An inscription dated in the year 282 found at Junagarh could belong to Rudrasiṁha IV. It is in *Brāhmī* characters and is in Sanskrit. Its details are lost.[4] With Rudrasiṁha III, son of Svāmi Satyasiṁha, the line of the Śaka Kshatrapas or Mahākshatrapas ends. The available date of his reign is *circa* 310. As no other dates of his reign are available, it is difficult to determine the duration of his reign.

We find that four Mahākshatrapas reigned from the year 304 to the year 310. This leads to the possibility that it was a period of constant warfare. This was the period of Gupta conquest. Chandragupta Vikramāditya must have killed one of the Mahākshatrapas, most probably the last one, named Rudrasena, and was, hence, named *Śakāri.*

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1 Catalogue, p. 190.
2 See above pp. 35 and 36.
3 Ibid, p. CXLIX,
4 See above, p. 36.

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CHAPTER NINE

OTHER SAKA SATRAPAL RULERS

A Greek title, *Strategos*, means, *Lord of the Army* and military Governors were designated as such. It was perhaps a rank in the Śaka army also which gradually developed into a civil institution as *Satrap* or *Kshatrapa* and the *Great Satrap* or *Mahākshatrapa*. The term *Satrap* was used to designate the Governor of a province in the empire of the Achaemenian emperors, as well. The Satraps were the feudal lords appointed by their Śaka over-lords to administer the conquered people. Originally, with fairly autonomous status, they gradually became more or less independent and were powerful enough to issue coins of their own. The title *Kshatrapa* or *Satrap* and *Mahākshatrapa* or the *Great Satrap* has often been used on coins and in inscriptions of many rulers.

The word *Kshatrapa* or *Mahākshatrapa* is not found in Sanskrit or Prākrit literature. *Kshatrapa* appears to be the Sanskritized form of the word *Satrap*. It refers to the holder of an office and is of foreign origin. In Prakrit '*Chhatrava*,' '*Chhatrapa*,' or the royal title '*Chhatrapati*' is found and is the same as old Persian '*Kshathrapavan*.'

In India, as in Persia, *Kshatrapa* was no doubt a Viceroy of the King of Kings. In its higher rank, *viz*., *Mahākshatrapa* or the *Great Satrap* occupied a position of great power and independence than the *Kshatrapa* though acknowledging the suzerainty of a *King of Kings*.

It was customary to find a *Mahākshatrapa* and *Kshatrapa* reigning together at the same time; the latter occupying the position of heir-apparent, and regularly, in due course, succeeding to the higher dignity. It was perhaps a set pattern of Śaka government that

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the heir apparent, usually a son, was always associated in the administration during the life time of his father to succeed him in due course.

Existence of many Śaka satrapal families ruling different parts of India is known. These had played a prominent role in the history of northern India. The Śaka satrapal rulers of Gujarat, Taxila, Mathura, Ujjain, etc. are known. The coins and inscriptions of Kshatrapas of Taxila, Mathura and Gujarat are well known Archaeological and literary evidence for Śaka Kshatrapa rulers of Ujjain is lacking.

A. ŚAKA SATRAPS OF TAXILA

I. MAUES

The earliest Saka dynasty in Northern India is that of Maues or Moa. The great king Moga mentioned in the Taxila Copper Plate of the year 78 is considered to be the same as Maues of the coins. Maues had Satrap Liaka Kusulaka under him as mentioned in this inscription. He is also equated with Moa of the Maira well inscription of the year 58. Coins of Maues are found in considerable numbers in Taxila; between the Indus and the Chenab rivers; and in Afghanistan. These coins exhibit a variety of types. In general, his coins are copied from those of his predecessors, who ruled in these regions. Scholars have surmises regarding his dominions and duration of his rule; but in the absence of direct evidence these details are not discussed.

II. AZES

It is believed that Maues was succeeded at Taxila by King Azes. It has not been possible to decide whether Azes was a Śaka or a Pārthian ruler. Therefore, Azes and his successors are not discussed, in great details.

Azes seems to be no other than the ruler of that name who was a colleague of Spalirises ruling territory about southern Afghanistan. A large number of coins of Azes have been found in Punjab. Azes also issued coins jointly with another king named Azilises.

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He is mentioned in the Greek legend on the obverse and Azilises in the *Kharoshṭhi* legend on the reverse.

III. DĀMIJADA OR NĀMIJADA

Rājan Nāmijada or Dāmijada is mentioned in the Shahdaur inscription. He was a Śaka ruler. Further evidence about him is lacking.

IV. LIAKA KUSULAKA

Liaka Kusulaka is mentioned in the Taxila Copper Plate inscription of the year 78. He was the father of Patika. He issued his own coins which were mostly copied from those of Eucratides. He was a contemporary of King Maues and acknowledges him as his over-lord. According to the inscription, this family had ruled over Chhahara and Chuksha. These two places are not identifiable at present but were most probably, in the neighbourhood of Taxila.

V. PATIKA

Patika, son of Liaka Kusulaka, had succeeded his father. Patika is mentioned in the Mathura Lion Capital Inscription, as Mahākshatrapa Kusulla Padika

Coins of Patika Kusulaka are not available. The reason could have been that his rule was short lived and he had to abandon his dominions.

B. ŚAKA SATRAPS OF MATHURĀ

A branch of the Śakas had established itself in Mathura. Inscriptions found at Mathura help to reconstruct their genealogy. Whether they had any direct or indirect relations with the Śaka rulers of western India is an unnecessary exercise in the absence of authentic details. The inscriptions available definitely prove that they were of Śaka origin and had preceded the Kushāṇas. Names of Śivaghosha, Śivadatta, Hagāmasha and Hagāna are known from their coins.

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I. RĀJUBULA

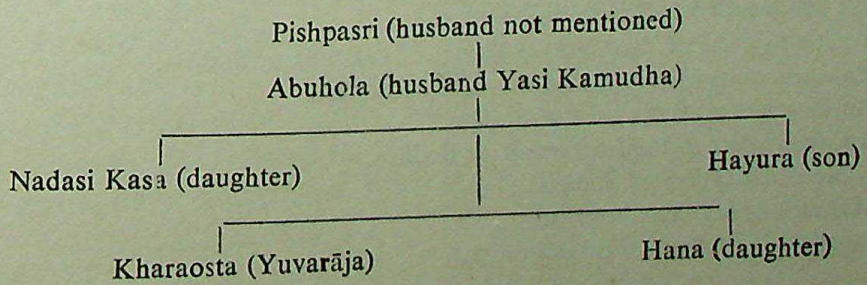
Rājubula, a Kshatrapa ruler of Mathura, is known from his coins and from inscriptions. He issued a large number of coins found over a wide area between the Indus and the Jamuna. His earlier coins are of debased silver with legends in corrupt Greek and *Kharoshṭhī*. These coins show the bust of the king and pallas hurling thunderbolt. His other coins are of lead or coated with lead and copper. In his later coins he is styled as Mahākshatrapa. The legend on these coins is in *Brāhmī*. The figure of Lakshmī facing between symbols suggests growing Indianisation.

Find-spot of coins could not help in determining the extent of his empire. However, he apparently had held sway over the Punjab and as far as Mathura. His coins have also been found in Taxila.

He appears to have been a powerful ruler. The inscriptions on Mathura Lion Capital clearly establish that Rājubula and his family were intimately connected with the Śaka Satraps of Chuksha. Perhaps his queen, Ayasi Kamui, who had this inscription inscribed was related to the Śaka king Maues.

One of the Mathura Lion Capital inscriptions mentions that his queen consort Nadasi Kasa, alongwith the crowd of the women of the harem, deposited a relic of divine Śākyamuni Buddha, and assigned the stūpa and a monastery, probably called the Guhavihāra to the community of the Sarvāstivāda monks.

This inscription also gives the following genealogical table:



1 Inscription A, see J.R.A.S., 1894, p. 533 ff.

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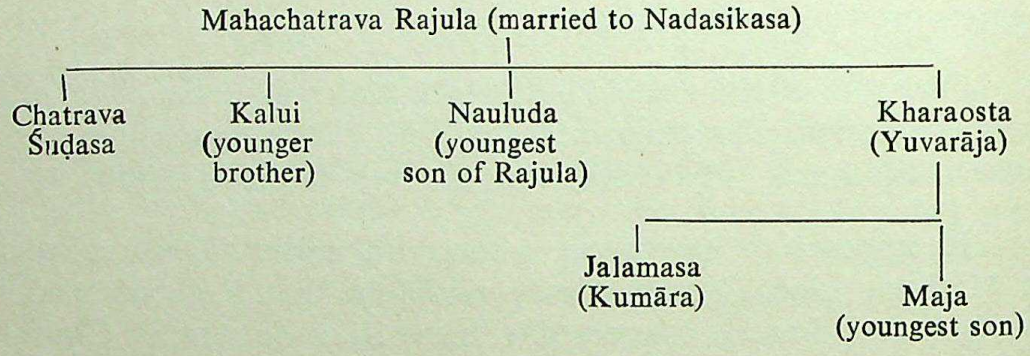
The proper names belong to some Śaka dialect. Attempts have been made to identify Pishpaśri with Sanskrit Viśvaśrī and Nadasi with Nandaśrī. How far these identifications are correct is not yet certain.

The other inscriptions on the same Capital inform us about some more members of Rājubula's family. The following genealogical table can be gleaned from inscriptions B, C, D and E :



Except Śoḍāsa and Kharaosta, nothing is known, so far, about the fate of other members of Rājubula's family.

II. ŚOḌĀSA

Out of the four sons of Mahākshatrapa Rājubula, Śoḍāsa, had succeeded him. So far, following eight inscriptions[1] of this ruler have been found at Mathura :—

1. The Mathura Lion-Capital inscription.
2. Mathura (Kaṇkālī Ṭīlā) Votive Tablet of the time of Śoḍāsa.
3. Mathura stone inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa.
4. An inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa.
5. An incomplete *Brāhmī* epigraph of Śoḍāsa.
6. A New inscription of Śoḍāsa.
7. Mathura Mora Well inscription.
8. Inscription of the son of Rājubula.

[1] See inscriptions in Appendix Nos. XIII to XVIII, XX and XXIII.

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On the coins, Śoḍāsa is designated as *Mahākshatrapasa putrasa kshatrapasa Śaṇḍasasa.* In the Āmohini Votive Tablet of the year 72, he is called as a Mahākshatrapa. He is also designated as *Svāmī* in the inscriptions.

His dominions could be limited to the region around Mathura and portions of the Jamunā valley.

His inscriptions record charitable deeds. His treasurer or *gaṁjavara* was Mūlavasu. It appears that Śoḍāsa had enjoyed a very long rule. Some of his inscriptions refer to Mūlavasu and later on to his son Vasu ; who also had later become a minister.

His mother had Buddhist leanings. The pedestal of a Bodhisattva image records the word kshatrapa though the name of the kshatrapa is missing. A Jain *Āyāgapaṭṭa* was inscribed during his reign. Erection of several shrines for the worship of Vāsudeva, Vṛishṇī heros, Lakshmī etc., shows liberal outlook towards religion ; and the followers of different sects had enjoyed his favour.

III. KHARAOSTA

Bilingual coins of a Kshatrapa named Kharaosta have been found. The *Kharoshṭhī* legend on these coins is, : *Chhatrapasa pra Kharaostasa Artasa putrasa* (of chhatrapa, Kharaosta, son of Arta) This *Kharoshṭhī* legend on the coins shows that he was the son of one Arta.[1]

Not much is known about Rājubula's son *Yuvarāja* Kharaosta except that he and his sons erected a funeral monument for an ascetic.[2] The fact that he bears the title *yuvarāja* indicates that he was designated to be the successor of Śoḍāsa, be it because the latter was childless or because the order of the succession went as with the Western Kshatrapas of Chashṭana's family, from brother to brother.[3]

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1 Inscription E. on Mathura Lion Capital, J.R.A.S. 1894, p. 536.

2 Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, Whitehead, R.B., Vol. I, Indo Greek Coins, p. 159, Oxford 1914.

3 J.R.A.S., Vol. *1894*, p. 532.

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Was Kshatrapa Kharaosta, a son of Rājubula as according to the Mathura Lion Capital inscription or was he son of Arta as according to the coin? This knotty problem needs further careful analysis on the basis of more material as and when it is discovered. It can, however, well be presumed that the satraps of Mathura and Taxila had been intimately related.

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CHAPTER TEN

THE ŚAKA COINAGE

Like the coinage of the Greeks, rich in variety, the coinage of the Śakas too, though an imitation of the Greek models, evidences a great multiplicity of types.

A very large number of Śaka coins have come to light spread over a vast area indicating thereby their large dominions, stability of political order and a growing economy. The Śaka coinage mostly is a continuation of the Indo-Greek currency. It is, therefore, evident that they took over the Greek mints, moneyers and engravers, and issued a similar kind of bilingual coinage with Greek legends on the obverse and the *Kharoshṭhī* legends on the reverse. Most noteworthy of these coins are the coins of Maues which are imitations of some of the familiar types of Apollodotus and Menander in the eastern Punjab.

The large variety and types of coins of Maues is perhaps due to the fact that he over-threw a number of Greek houses and, since each of the Greek principalities, possibly had their own coins, Maues started copying all or as many of them as was possible and necessary.

Various monograms found engraved on the coinage of satrapal rulers of Taxila are mint marks referring to the particular mint.

The coins of the Western Kshatrapas also had followed the later Graeco Indian coinage in its form and standard of weight. The Greek legend on the coins of the earlier rulers of Western Kshatrapas as well as the *Kharoshthi* legend on the reverse was used as a consequence of this imitation. Coins of the Western Kshatrapas are mostly of silver and were called *Kārshāpaṇas* as mentioned in

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various inscriptions of Ushavadāta from Nasik caves; even though their weight is only 34 to 36 grains instead of the normal required weight of 58 grains for a *Kārshāpaṇa.*

Nahapāna's treasury is mentioned in the commentary of the *Āvaśyaka-sūtra.* Nahapāna gave gold in charity. In his Junagarh rock inscription Rudradāman records that his treasury was full of gold, silver and precious stones, such as *vajra*, *vaidūrya* and *ratna.* S.K. Chakraborthy is of the opinion that the silver coin with copper tokens was the standard coin in the territories ruled by the Western Kshatrapas.[1] Lead coinage was also prevalent. But, so far, no gold coin has come to light.

The coins of the Western Kshatrapas representing almost 300 years of their rule is without parallel in the numismatics of ancient India. A large number of hoards of coins of Western Kshatrapa rulers have been discovered and described in various reports and journals.

Representative coins of Western Kshatrapas, and satrapal rulers of Taxila and Mathura are detailed as follows:

1. BHŪMAKA (Copper)[1]	Obv :	Arrow pointing upwards; r. thunderbolt; between, a pellet; *Kharoshṭhī* inscr. :..... *chatrapasa Bhumakasa.*
	Rev :	Lion facing r. and wheel [*Dharmachakra*] *Brāhmī* inscr. :..... *sa Bhumakasa ra....*
2. NAHAPĀNA	Obv :	Bust of king facing r.; inscr. in Greek letters.
	Rev :	On 1. arrow pointing downwards; r. thunderbolt; between, a pellet; *Bhrāhmī* inscr.: *Rājño ; Kharoshṭhī* inscr.: *Rano chatrapasa Nahapanasa.*

[1] Currency Problems of Ancient India, J. of the Department of Letters, Calcutta Universty, Vol. XXX, 1938, p. 36.

[2] The coins are of silver, unless mentioned as of copper, bronze, etc.

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3. NAHAPĀNA

Obv : Bust of king facing r.; inscr. in Greek letters.

Rev : On 1. arrow pointing downwards; r. thunderbolt; between, a pellet; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rājño Kshaharātasa Nahapānasa*; *Kharoshṭhī* inscr.: *Raño chaharatasa Nahapanasa*. Wt. 34.9; .65.

4. NAHAPĀNA (restruck by Gautamīputra)

Obv : *Chaitya* over bust of king facing r.; inscr. (not clear) in *Brāhmī* over earlier Greek letters.

Rev : On 1. Ujjain symbol; r. thunderbolt; *Kharoshṭhī* inscr.: *rano Chaharatasa Nahapanasa*; *Brāhmī* inscr.:..... *Nahapanasa.*

5. CHASHṬANA

Obv : Bust of king facing r.; inscr. in Greek letters.

Rev : *Chaitya* of three arches, surmounted by crescent; beneath waved line, 1., crescent; r., star; *Brāhmī* inscr: *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Ghsamotikaputra[sa] Chashṭanasa*; *Kharoshṭhī* inscr.: *Chaṭhanasa*. Wt. 30.5; .6.

6. JAYADĀMAN

Obv : Humped Bull facing r.; inscr. in Greek letters; border line.

Rev : *Chaitya* surmounted by crescent; border line; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rājño Ksha* [....*mi*] *Jayadāmasa*. Wt. 27.2; .5.

7. RUDRADĀMAN I

Obv : Bust of king facing r.; traces of inscr. in Greek letters.

Rev : Chaitya of three arches surmounted by crescent; beneath waved line; 1. crescent; r. star; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rājño Kshatrapasa Jaya*[*dāmaputra-rājño——kshatra--*]*sa Rudradāmasa*. Wt. 28.5; .55.

8. DĀMAJADAŚRI I

Obv : Bust of helmeted king facing r.; traces of Greek letters.

Rev : As in 7 above; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudra* [*dāmasa*] *putrasa rājño Kshatrapasa Damaghsadasa* Wt. 27; .55.

9. DĀMAJADAŚRI I

Obv : As above.

Rev : As above *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudra* [*dā*] *mna putrasa rajña kṣhatra*[*pasa Dāma*]*jadaśriya*. Wt. 31.3; .6.

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10. JĪVADĀMAN
Obv : Bust of helmeted king facing r,; dated 1 [1×].
Rev : As above; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmajadasaputrasa rājño Mahākshatrapàsa Javadamasa.* Wt.34.5;.6.

11. RUDRASIṀHA I
Obv : As above; behind head date 115.
Rev : As above; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmaputrasa Rudrasihasa.*

12. SATYADĀMAN
Obv : As above ; dated 1 [× ×].
Rev : As above; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rājño* [—*hā*] *kshatra*[*pa*]*sya* [——*jadaśra*]*yaputrasa rājño kshatrapasya Satyadāmna.* Wt. 29; .6.

13. RUDRASENA I
Obv : As above; dated 125.
Rev : As above; *Brāhmī* inscr.: .....*haputrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenasa.*

14. PRITHIVĪSENA
Obv : As above; dated 144.
Rev : As above; *Brāhmī* inscr.; *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudra* [*sanasa*] *putrasa Rājño kshatrapasa Prithivisenasa.* Wt. 34 6; .55.

15. SAṄGHADĀMAN
Obv : As above; dated 14 [4]
Rev : As above ; *Brāhmī* inscr. : *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasahaputrasa* Rājño Mahakshatrapasya Saghadāmna. Wt. 30.6 ; .55.

16. DĀMASENA
Obv : As above: dated 157.
Rev : As above (but mostly obliterated); *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rājño* [————————] *sihasa putrasa* [——] *Mahakshatrapasa Damasenasa.*

17. DĀMAJADAŚRI II
Obv : As above; dated 154.
Rev : As above; *Brāhmī* inscr.; *Rājño Mahakshatra* [*pasa Rudrasana*] *putrasa Rājñaḥ kshatrapasa Dāmajadaśriyaḥ.* Wf. 30.4; .6.

18. DĀMAJADAŚRI II
Obv : As above; dated 1 [5×].
Rev : As above but star to l. and crescent to r. of *chaitya; Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rājño Mahakshatrapasa Rudrasenaputrasa rajña* (*ḥ*) *kshatra*[*pa*]*sa Damajadaśriyaḥ.* Wt. 32.4; .6.

19. VĪRADĀMAN
Obv : As above; dated [160] (?)
Rev : As above ; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Damasenasa putrasa Rajño kshatrapa* [—] *radamnaḥ.*

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20. ĪŚVARADATTA (Ābhīra king)
Obv : As above; behind head date [2].
Rev : As in 19 above; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rājño Mahakshatrapasa Iśvaradattasa varshe dvitīye.* Wt. 34.6; .6.

21. YAŚODĀMAN
Obv : As above; behind head date 160.
Rev : As above; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Damasenasa putrasa Rājñaḥ kshatrapasa Yaśodāmnaḥ.* Wt. 34.4; .6.

22. YAŚODĀMAN
Obv : As above; behind head date 161.
Rev : As above; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rājño Mahakshatrapasa Dāmasenasaputrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Ya*[*—dāmna-*]
Wt. 33.1; .55.

23. VIJAYASENA
Obv : As above; dated 160.
Rev : As above; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Damasenasaputrasa Rajñaḥ Mahākshatrapasa Vijayasenasa.*

24. DĀMAJADAŚRĪ III
Obv : As above; dated 176.
Rev : As above; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Damasenaputrasa Rājño Mahakshatrapasa Dāmajadaśriyaḥ.*

25. DĀMAJADAŚRĪ III
Obv : As above; date not clear.
Rev : As above; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenaputrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmajadaśriyaḥ.*

26. RUDRASENA II
Obv : As above; dated 188.
Rev : As above; *Brāhmī* inscr.: [....] *Vīradāmaputrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenasa.*

27. RUDRASENA II
Obv : As above; dated 188.
Rev : As above; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rājñaḥ kshatrapasa Vīradāmaputrasa Rā*[*jño*] *Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenasa.* Wt. 31.4; .55.

28. RUDRASENA II
Obv : As above, dated 189.
Rev : As above; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rājño* [.....] *radamaputrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenasa.*

29. VIŚVASIṂHA
Obv : As above; dated 19 (×).
Rev : As Above; *Brāhmī* inscr.: [*Rā...kshatra ...*] *Ru*[*dra...*]*putrasa Rājñoḥ kshatrapasa Viśvasiha*[*—*].

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30. VIŚVASIṀHA	Obv :	As above; date not legible.
	Rev :	As above; *Brāhmī* inscr.; *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasanaputrasa Rājñaḥ Kshatrapasa* [*vaśvasaha*]*sa.*
31. VIŚVASIṀHA	Obv :	As above; date 199 (?).
	Rev :	As above; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenaputrasa rājño Kshatrapasa Viśvasihasa.*
32. BHARTRIDĀMAN	Obv :	As above; date 2 (× ×).
	Rev :	As above; *Brāhmī* inscr. : *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenaputrasa Rājño kshatrapasa Bhartridamanaḥ.*
33. VIŚVASENA	Obv :	As above; dated 217.
	Rev :	As above; *Brāhmī* inscr. : *Rājño Mahakshatrapasa* [*Bhartridāmaputrasa Rājño Kshatrapasa*] *Viśvasenasa.*
34. RUDRASIṀHA II	Obv :	As above; date not legible.
	Rev :	As above; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Svāmi Jīvadamaputrasa Rājño Kshatrapasa Rudrasihasa*
35. YAŚODĀMAN II	Obv :	As above; dated 24 (×).
	Rev :	As above; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rājño kshatrapasa Rudrasīhaputrasa Rano kshtrapasa Yaśodāmnaḥ.*
36. SVĀMĪ RUDRASENA III	Obv :	As above; dated 29 (×).
	Rev :	As above; *Brāhmi* inscr. : *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Svami Ru* [*dra*] *damaputrasa Rajño Mahākshatrapa Svami Rudrasenasa.*
37. SVĀMĪ SIṀHASENA	Obv :	As above.
	Rev :	As above; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Mahārāja Kshatrapa svāma Rudra* [——*svasra*——] *Rajña Mahākshatrapasa Svāma Sahasanasya.* Wt. 27; .55.
38. SVĀMĪ-(RUDRA) SENA IV	Obv :	As above
	Rev :	As above; *Brāhmī* inscr.: *Rajña Mahākshatrapasa Svāma Sahasanaputrasa Rajña Mahākshatra* [——*svā*——*Rudra*] *sanasa.* Wt. 29.2; .55.

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39. SVĀMĪ RUDRASIṂHA III
Obv : As above; dated 31 (×).
Rev : As above; *Brāhmī* inscr. ; *Rājña Mahākshatrapasa Svāma Satyasahasa putrasa Rājña Mahākshatrapasa Svāma Radrashasa.* Wt. 27; .65.

40. MAUES (Bronze)
Obv : Head of elephant facing r.; bell round neck.
Rev : Caduceus in the centre; Greek legend on l. : MAYOY; on r. BAΣIΛEΩΣ ; to left monogram. Size 1.15.

41. MAUES
Obv : Zeus standing facing l; clad in himation; r. hand extended; in l. long sceptre Greek legend ; BAΣIΛEΩΣ BAΣIΛEΩN MEΓAΛOY MAYOY.
Rev : Nike facing r.; holds wreath and palm bound with fillet: *Kharoshṭhī* inscr.: *Rajadirajasa mahatasa Moasa;* to r. monogram. Size 1.15.

42. MAUES (Bronze)
Obv : Herakles standing facing and holding in l. club and lions skin. Greek legend : as above in 41. Size 1.15.
Rev : Maneless lion facing l. *Kharoshṭhī* inscr. : *Rajasa mahātasa Moasa*; to l. monogram.

43. MAUES (Bronze)
Obv : Draped female facing and holding sceptre; creseent on head; and stars on either side, Greek legend : as above in 41.
Rev : Nike facing l.; holds wreath and palm; *Kharoshṭhī* inscr. : *Rajadirajasa Mahātasa Moasa;* to l. monogram. Size .95.

44. MAUES (Bronze)
Obv : Zeus seated on throne facing l. and holding in l. hand sceptre; r. extended towards small winged female figure; Greek legend as above in 41.
Rev : Female facing wearing turreted crown, holds long sceptre; holding her veil in her r. hand; *Kharoshṭhī* inscr; *Rajadirajasa mahātasa Moasa;* l. monogram.

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45. AZES

Obv : King riding a horse and holding a lance faces r.; Greek legend; BAΣIΛEΩΣ BAΣIΛEΩN MEГAΛOY AZOY.

Rev : Radiate Zeus holding long sceptre in l. hand and with r. hand advanced faces l.; *Kharoshṭhī* legend.: *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahātasa Ayasa;* monograms on l. and r. Wt. 146.5; 1.1.

46. AZES

Obv : King on horse back holding whip in raised r. hand faces r; Greek legend as above in 45.

Rev : Zeus facing l. holds long sceptre in r. hand and wreath-bearing Nike in l. hand; *Kharoshṭhī* inscr: as above in 45; monograms on l. and r. Wt. 136.8; 1.

47. AZES

Obv : King on horse back holding whip faces r.; Greek legend as above in 45.

Rev : Poseidon holding trident in l. hand faces r.; *Kharoshṭhī* inscr. : as above in 45; monograms on r. and l. Wt. 133.8; .95.

48. AZES

Obv : King on horse-back holding lance faces r.; Greek legend as above in 45.

Rev : Pallas holds thunderbolt in raised r. hand and shield in l.; *Kharoshṭhī* inscr. as above in 45; monograms on r. and l. Wt. 145.8; .95.

49. AZES

Obv : As above in 48.

Rev : As above in 48. The size of the coin is only .7 and weight 29.6 grains.

50 AZES

Obv : King on horse-back holding whip faces right. Greek legend as above in 45.

Rev : Pallas facing holds in l. hand a spear and a shield and with the r. crowns herself. *Kharoshṭhī* legend as above in 45; monograms on l. and r. Wt. 138.5; .1.

51. AZES

Obv : As above.

Rev : Pallas facing holds in her l. hand s spear and a shield and her r. hand is advanced; *Kharoshṭhī* legend as above in 45; monograms on l. and r. Wt. 144.8; .95.

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52. AZES

Obv : King facing r. on horse-back holds a lance, couched; Greek legend as above in 45.

Rev : A deity facing left holds in r. hand a brazier like object and in l. a palm bound with a fillet; monograms on l. and r; *Kharoshṭhī* legend as above in 45; Wt. 34.3; .7.

53. AZES

Obv : Zeus carrying long sceptre and with r. arm outstretched faces l; Greek legend as above in 45.

Rev . Winged Nike with wreath and palm faces r.; *Kharoshṭhī* legend as above in 45; monogram on r. Wt. 135; 1.

54. AZES

Obv : King on horse-back holds couched spear; Greek legend as above in 45.

Rev : Zeus facing l. has long sceptre in l. hand and r. arm outstretched; to r. *Kharoshṭhī maṁ*; to l. monogram; *Kharoshṭhī* legend as above in 45. Wt. 142; 1.1.

55. AZES (Bronze)

Obv : King facing is seated cross-legged on a cushion and holds *añkuśa* in r. hand and a sword in l. hand which rests on his knees; Greek legend as above.

Rev : Hermes with Chalmys flying faces l. and holds a caduceus in l. hand, her r. hand is raised; *Kharoshṭhī* legend as above in 45; monograms on l. and r. Size 1.05.

56. AZES (Bronze)

Obv : Elephant faces r.; sign; Greek legend as above in 45.

Rev : Humped bull faces r; sign; *Kharoshṭhī* legend: *Maharajasa rajadirajasa mahatasa Ayasa*. Size 1.05.

57. AZES (Bronze)

Obv : King on horse-back facing r. holds in r. hand lance, couched; Greek legend as above in 45.

Rev : Humped bull facing r.; *Kharoshṭhī* legend: *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa*; above monogram on l. and on r. Sign. Size. 1.

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58. AZES/AZILISES

Obv : King on horse back holding couched lance faces r; Greek legend as above in 45.

Rev : A Goddess holding in r. hand flames and in 1. palm bound with fillet stands facing 1; on r. *Kharaoshṭhī mi;* on 1. *Kharoshṭhī saṁ* and monogram; *Kharoshṭhī* legend*; Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilisasa.* Wt. 151; 1.

59. AZES/ASPAVARMA

Obv : King on horse-back facing r. holds *añkuśa* and behind him bow on saddle to r. Greek legend as above in 45.

Rev : Armed Pallas stands facing r., with r. hand advanced and in her 1. holds spear and shield; behind star and——; *Kharoshṭhī* legend: *Indravarma putrasa Aspavarmasa Strategasa jayatasa;* to 1. uncertain letter and to r. monogram. Wt. 157.3 ; .85.

60. ŚIVADATTA (Copper)

Obv : Lakshmī standing facing; traces of *Brāhmī* legend: *khatapasa Śivadatasa.*

Rev : Horse facing 1. Wt. 65.0; .7.

61. HAGĀMASHA (Copper)

Obv : Lakshmī standing facing; traces of *Brāhmī* legend; *Khatapasa Hagāmashasa,*

Rev : Horse facing 1. Wt. 65.0; .8.

62. HAGĀMASHA and HAGĀNA (Copper)

Obv : Lakshmī standing facing; traces of *Brāhmī* legend: *Khatap* [*a*]*na Hagānasa Hagāmashasa.*

Rev : Horse facing 1. Wt. 67. 5; .75.

63. RĀJUVULA (Copper)

Obv : Bust of king facing r. diademed. Traces of following Greek legend; BACIΛEΩC BACIΛΣWN CWTHPOC PAIY

Rev : Pallas facing 1., holding in 1. hand aegis and hurling thunderbolt in r. *Khorshṭhī* legend. Wt. 38.0; .55.

64. RĀJUVULA (Billon)

Obv : Lion r., traces of legend in corrupt Greek.

Rev : Hercules standing to 1. with r. hand out and club and lion skin on 1. arm; traces of *Kharoshṭhī* legend: *Mahakhatapasa apratichakrasa Rajulasa.* Wt. 80.0; .6.

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65. ŚOḌĀSA (Billon)

Obv : Lakshmī standing facing; traces of *Brāhmī* legend: *Mahakhatapasa putasa khatapasa Śoḍāsasa.*

Rev : Coronation of Lakshmī; the goddess standing facing between two elephants mounted on pedestals and sprinkling her. Wt. 116.0; .7.

66. KHARAOSTES (Copper)

Obv : King on horeback with levelled spear to r. ; to r. *Kharoshṭhī saṁ.* Greek legend : XAPAHWCTEI CATPA⊓IEI APTA-YOY.

Rev : Lion to r. ; to r X. *Kharoshṭhī* legend : *chatrapasa pra kharaostasa Artasa putrasa.* Above lion monogram.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE ŚAKA POLITY AND SOCIETY

I. RECENT EXCAVATIONS

Excavations in the Altai region of the U.S.S.R. have brought to light interesting facts of the early Śaka civilization. These finds prove that Śakas were not at all barbarian or wholly nomadic tribes, as the early Greek and other contemporary writers would make us believe. The excavated material corroborates the evidence available in Indian literature. Their civilization and social order was immensely enriched by contacts with various civilizations. They had occupied large tracts of land in Central Asia, Russian Steppes and the Danubian belts.

The finds at Altai which are now in the Hermitage Museum of Leningrad establish their advanced civilisation. The Śakas were using leather, cotton, silk and woollen fabrics and endless other articles of luxury.

These finds include in-tact and well preserved dead bodies of a male and female. The bodies are of a Śaka soldier and his wife. The soldier is of dark complexion and his cheek bones are prominently formed. The woman is fair and has a round face. The chest and shoulders of the man are tatooed with various figures of a complicated type, done perhaps to ward off evil spirits.

Woollen carpets of different textures with patterns rioting in colours have been found. Chinese cloth, a looking glass and small items of daily use formed part of the graves. Bodies of 14 horses buried along with their masters have also been excavated in graves. The horses appear to have been killed with poison and then buried along with their dressings.

The last journey of the dead leader was attended with grandeur; all his belongings, his arms, ornaments, clothings, horses, etc.

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were buried with him; his wife and servants not excepted. This manner of burial was as much favoured by the Sumerians of Ur as by the Kashmiris of a very late age. Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarañgiṇī* applauds not only the wives mounting the funeral pyre of the husband but also complements servants and maids entering fire with the corpse of their master.

This custom of burning the wife along with the remains of a departed chief was followed in India by the Śakas during their long rule and became so common as to percolate to the lowest segment of society and came to be known as *sati*.

The dead bodies, particularly of the rulers, were buried after they were hung over a tree so that the flesh was used up by vultures. There is evidence to show that sometimes the flesh was removed manually from the bones and was thrown to vultures so that the bones were made available for immediate burial. Along with the system of burial, that of cremation of the dead was also prevalent in which the wife also was expected to burn herself.

They used to preserve the skull of the enemy leader as a trophy of war.

II. THE COUNTRY UNDER THE ŚAKA RULE

The effects of the regime of the earlier Śaka kings on the Aryan society of India have been vividly described in *Gārgī-Saṁhitā*. The whole description is, of course, in the future tense, *i.e.*, in the style of most of the *Purāṇas*. It is written that "the Śakas will destory one fourth of the total number of the inhabitants by the sword and one fourth will be carried by them to their own city. At the end of the Śaka regime, the land of *Āryāvarta* will be void of men. The work of ploughing the fields will be carried on by the females."[1]

Such was the disastrous conditions to which this country, especially its north-west, was reduced during the earlier Śaka rule.

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[1] Cf. Gārgī-Saṁhitā, Yugapnrāṇa, Verses, 54-84.

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Alberuni also alludes to the barbarism of the Śakas.[1] Nahapāna and the dynasty of Chashṭana were, however, better than the early marauders. Nahapāna endowed villages to the *brāhmaṇas*.[2] Ushavadāta made arrangements for the livelihood of the Buddhist *bhikshus*. Rudradāman adopted the Hindu ideal of the protection of the cow and the *brāhmaṇa*.

The Śakas accepted the local Indian mode of life and despite calling themselves satraps, they completely identified themselves in course of time with Indian ideals. They modelled their lives after the Indian social order administering their domain in accordance with the rules of indigenous polity. They even called themselves *rājan*, *mahārāja*, *rājā*, and the usual like epithets of the Hindu royalties.

In course of time, the name of Śaka rulers and noblemen were Indianised as: Śivaghosa, Śivadatta, Rudradāma, Jayadāma, Rudrasena, Rudrasiṁha, Satyadāma, Viradāma, Yośodāma, Vijayasena, Prithivisena, Viśvasiṁha, Bhartridāma, Sañghadāma, Śrīdharavarma, etc.

Economic Life. The economic and social life of the country was well organised through guilds of various types and the Śakas patronised these guilds.

Contemporary evidence suggests that the guild organisation had developed into an important factor and the state guaranted the existence of these institutions by affording them necessary assistance. People had increased confidence in their utility. According to one Nasik cave inscription (No. 12), a donation of 3000 *kārshāpaṇas* by Ushavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna, was a perpetual endowment for the benefit of the Buddhist monks of any sect and any origin dwelling in the cave. The amount was invested in two separate guilds, as under:

(*a*) 2000 *kārshāpaṇas* in a weaving guild at the rate of interest of one per cent per month.
(*b*) 1000 *kārshāpaṇas* in another weaving guild at the rate of interest of 3/4 per cent per month.

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[1] Above, p. 45.
[2] See Appendix for relevant inscriptions.

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Another Nasik cave inscription (No. 15), which is dated in the 9th year of king Īśvarasena, records a similar endowment with the guilds at Govardhana. It says, "To provide medicines for the sick of the *saṁgha* of monks, of whatever sect and origin dwelling in this monastery on mount Triraśmī, a perpetual endowment has been invested for all time to come with the guilds dwelling at Govardhana."

III. ŚAKA ADMINISTRATION

They Śakas established a system of administration which gave a political stability to the conquered dominions. They had taken advantage of the Greek system of administration. They divided the conquered territory into satrapys in charge of a governor usually called a *kshatrapa* or a *mahākshatrapa*. The satraps or governors were apparently hereditary and on the pattern of their over-lord, Śaka kings. They followed the custom of associating their successors in administration during their life time. The senior member, father in most cases, was entitled *mahākshatrapa* whereas the heir or the junior member had the simple title of satrap or *kshatrapa*.

Except for some stray references, details of local administration could not survive time. The copper plate inscription from Taxila mentions the rank of *meridorkh*. Like *strategos*, the term *meridorkh* was also Greek in origin. It appears that like the Greeks, the Śakas too governed districts and other smaller units of administration with the help of such smaller officials as *meridorkhs*.

Law of succession. The coins of the Śakas clearly show that in the royal family the law of inheritance of the kingdom was not for the elder son only, but was for all the sons of a king. When there were four brothers they often all inherited the throne in succession. When the younger brother of a deceased *mahākshatrapa* did not get the kingdom he waged war against his brother's son, as is seen in the case of Rudrasiṁha I and Jīvadāman. Never throughout these centuries a queen ascended the throne, and no minor ever succeeded.

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The King. The king, who was called a *mahākshatrapa*, *svāmī*, *rājan*, was the commander of the armies also. In great battles he himself took part. Rudradāman won his own victories.

State Officials. Śakas had the same type of state officers as the Hindu kings of those days had. Rudradāman had under him *mati-sachivas* and *karma-sachivas*. The officials were often Śakas and Pahlavas. Ayama, the minister of Nahapāna was a Śaka. Suviśākha, a minister of Rudradāman was a Pahlava. Śaka Śrīdharavarman of the Kānākhera (Sāñchi) stone inscription was a *mahādaṇḍa-nāyaka*.

Svāmins. Many of Śaka rulers are called *Svāmī* in their epigraphical records, *e.g.*, *Svāmī* Chashṭana, *Svāmi* Rudradāman and so on. Long before them and in the region of Mathura, Mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa was also called a *Svāmī*. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of *Bharata* lays down that *yuvarāja* or an heir-apparent should be addressed as *svāmī* or *bhadramukha* in the dramas.[1] From the use of the term *svāmī* in the Śaka inscriptions as well as in *Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra*, Prof. Levi argues that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has borrowed this usage from the contemporary records of the Śakas.[2] Professor Keith does not agree with Levi.[2] There is no use going into details of this controversy here, but one thing seems probable: *svāmī* in the Śaka records may mean an heir-apparent. The Śakas borrowed this title from Hindu society. Hindu kings of that period used the title. Vāsishṭhi-putra Pulumāvī uses *sāmi* for himself.[3]

Soldiers. Śaka soldiers served under their own kings and also under Hindu kings. Just preceding Gautamī-putra, there was a king Śakasena in the Sātavāhana line. Among other views it is possible that he may have been given that name on account of employing a large number of Śaka soldiers in his army. Amongst the coins of the Sātavāhanas, those bearing the coin legends, *Śaka-sena* have been

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[1] स्वामीति युवराजस्तु कुमारो भर्तृदारकः । सौम्य भद्रमुखेत्येवं...
Nāṭyaśāstra, Gaekwad Series ed., p. 380, Śloka, 76. The word *bhadramukha* and *svāmi* in the Śaka inscriptions may have been adopted from this usage.

[2] The Sanskrit Drama by A.B. Keith, p. 66.

[3] See inscriptions in the Appendix.

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found. The Śaka soldiers had penetrated as far south as *Śrīparvata*. There are two sculptures at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa showing a warrior in Śaka dress.[1]

IV. ŚAKA SOCIETY

Marriage. The Śakas married Indian ladies also. Nahapāna probably had an Indian wife and his daughter Dakshamitrā, was thus given an Indian name. Rudradāman gave his daughter to a Sātavāhana king. Similarly, Rudradharā Bhaṭṭārikā, the daughter of a *mahārāja* of Ujjain, was married to an Indian prince *Vīra Purusadatta*, the second king of the Ikshavāku dynasty of the Andhra country.[2] Prabhudāmā, a sister of Rudrasena I, was the chief queen of probably an Indian prince. *Bhavishya Purāṇa*, refers to the inter-marriage of the inhabitants of the *Śakadvīpa* and the Yādava Indians.[3]

At a very early stage those Śakas who had yet not left their original home had followed polyandry. Many brothers would have a common wife and a group of men could be husband to a group of women.

Physiognomy. It is clear from the coins that the Śakas wore long hair, which hung on the back down to the upper part of the neck. The head was covered with a cap. There is an ornament round the neck. The nose was long, and the Śaka princes had a moustache but did not grow beards. The Śakas had red faces. In the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, it is laid down that the Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas and Bāhlikas are to be represented with reddish yellow faces. The fact that the Śaka women had red cheeks has already been pointed out.[4]

Their dress throughout Eurasia was identical, and consisted of a pointed cap or helmet, a pair of *pyjamas* and a long coat or

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1 Above p. 11.
2 E. I., Vol. XX, p. 19f.
3 Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, p. 171.
4 Above p. 18, No. 13.

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frock and a high boot of leather or felt reaching upto the knees. The *pyjama* and the long coat were positively the same as appear on the statues of the Śaka soldiers and Kuśāṇa emperors. Much later they served as models for the national dress of India in its items of the *ackhan* and *pyjama*.

According to Chinese writers, the Śakas had pointed nose and golden hair. Sanskrit writers have described them as bloodless meaning thereby their white colour. The beauty of the Śaka women became very marked in India, and was considered resulting from the onion which formed an important item of their menu.

Friendship. There existed a high type of friendship in certain Śaka circles. One solitary example has come down to us in an inscription, where the memory of a Śaka friend who sacrificed his own life for the sake of a friend, is kept alive.

Food and Drink. The general food of the Śakas was wheat-flour[1], meat[2] and onion.[2] *Mādhvīka*,[2] an intoxicating drink, was used by them.

Language. The Śakas were a virile people given to warfare and favouring a restive mode of life. Their possessions were limited to their horse and lance and, at the best their fighting equipment.

It is easy to understand that if the Śakas could preserve the corpses of their men and horses they could well have preserved their records in case they had attempted to create any.

In spite of the absence of literature of the early Śakas, we can take note of a few incidents which are very relevant in this context. It is generally believed that the language of the early Śakas was adopted by the Kuśāṇas and that the Śaka language of the Kuśāṇas was reduced to writing in Greek letters either in Bactria or at Kapiśā.

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[1] Above, p. 15, No.6.

[2] Above p. 18, No. 13; See also Bhārtavarsha kā Itihāsa by Bhagavad Datta, 1940, p. 172.

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Rudradāman's extensive record of his exploits in exquisite prose is the first specimen of its kind in Sanskrit. Rudradāman, himself master of grammar, polity, music and logic and an adept in composing literary pieces in prose and verse got inscribed the first composition in classical Sanskrit, which is a tribute to their love for the country and its language.

Astronomy and astrology go together. People in India believe in luck and in the impact of celestial bodies on fate. Varāhāmihira mentions various authorities recognised on the subject of astrology. He also mentions a *yavanāchārya*, thereby indicating that Greek astrologers were recognised in India. A free exchange of ideas and ideologies must have existed at the time Varāhamihira wrote his work.

The Śakas adopted *Prākrit* as their court language. The *Prākrit* was written in *Brāhmī* letters. Greek letters, used on coins for some time, later on fell into disuse. The Śakas, brought the *Kharoshṭhī* script with them, which also fell into disuse later on. Sanskrit was also learnt by them. Rudradāman I boasts of his familiarity with so many *śāstras*. Authors like Śakavṛddhi and others were writers. On the authority of *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa*, it can be stated that some Śaka learned men were connected with ancient Indian States.[1] They all show their love for Sanskrit.

The late Dr. Sten Konow has thrown further light on the Śaka language as :

"The modern language of Wakhān is a Śaka dialect. In Shangmi, the northern part of Chitrāl, the Chinese pilgrim Hūantsang was told that the king was of the Sākya race, and this Sākya is evidently a misunderstanding of the Sāka. And in Laghman, which probably belonged to the Kuei-Shuang principality, traces of the Śakas seem to be indicated in a passage of Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi: *Lampākās tu muraṇḍāḥ syūḥ*."[2]

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[1] मधु समधुश्चैव सिद्धिः नमस्तदा । रघवः शूद्रवर्णस्तु शकजातास्तथापरे ॥961॥

[2] Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology, p. 14.

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Luders supplies the following information on the Śaka language:—

"The spelling *sī* for *si* in *sīdhanā* can be paralleled by the transition of *s* into *śś* before palatal vowels in the Śaka language; *cf. śśāra, ṣśāna, śśiva.* The insertion of *r* also which here appears in *svarvachchhara* is frequent in Śaka in Indian loan-words such as *avaśśirshṭa=avaśishṭa, armāhāya=amitāyū, etc.*"[1]

Pronunciation. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of *Bharata* attributes the *Śakāra* dialect to the Śakas.[2] Some commentators[3] of the work of *Bharata* are of opinion that those who use *śa* instead of *sa* in their speech are called *Śakāras.* It is clear that Śaka dialect which was in use in Kathiawar, abounded in the use of *śa* instead of *sa*, *Vindhyaketu* (*Malayaketu*) uses such a dialect in the drama *Pratijñā Chāṇakya* of the poet *Bhima.*[4]

Great *paṇḍits*, appear rarely to have been encouraged in the Śaka royal courts. The names of such *paṇḍits* are not found in the inscriptions. The *prākrit* of the inscriptions is often very faulty and this shows that the help of the *paṇḍits* was not utilised.

V. RELIGIOU CUSTOMS

In the hoary past the Śakas professed the Vedic religion. Their society was divided into four classes. *Sagara* reduced them to the state of low, caste people. From the time of Nahapāna onwards the Śakas were under Buddhist and Hindu influence. Nahapāna undertook the pilgrimage of Hindu holy places of *Prabhāsa etc.* in western India. Nahapāna's daughter and son-in-law both performed pious deeds in accordance with Buddhist and Hindu customs. The introduction of *śaiva* names, *e.g.*, Rudradāma, Rudrasiṁha and Rudrasena indicates *śaiva* influence on the Śaka royal family. H.C. Ray Choudhary, however, writes that the Śaka and Kushāṇa kings who reigned from

[1] Ācārya-Pushpāñjali Volume, p. 289.
[2] XVII. 50 and 55.
[3] Abhinavagupta's Commentary on XVII, 50 and 55.
[4] Nāṭyaśāstra, Gaekwad Series ed., Vol. II, p. 161.

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the Ist century B.C. to the third century A.D. were usually *śaivites* or Buddhists, and were, with a few exceptions, not well disposed towards the religion of Vāsudeva.[1]

It is evident from countless epigraphical records that the Śaka rulers were protectors of the local religious sects worshipping Indian deities. They encouraged the carving of innumerable images as evident from votive dedications during their rule.

The copper plate inscription from Taxila, already referred to in the foregoing pages, records a gift by Patika, son of Liaka Kusulaka, a Śaka Satrap, to a Buddhist Saṅghārāma and dedicates a relic of Śākyamuni.

Jainism at that time was a dominating faith around Mathura, and it is possible that this faith may have reached Taxila because of the connection of the royal houses at Taxila and Mathura. A relic of the blessed one (the Buddha) was dedicated at Mathura by Rājuvula's queen Ayasia Kamuia and a gift of land was made by her son Śoḍāsa.

It is believed that early Śakas had many gods.

Western writers have the impression that early Śakas, outside India hardly had any religious belief or practices, and followed certain practices; and one of the festivals of Anaitis was called Sacaea which was accompanied by wild and licentious revels, the celebrants, men and women, indulging in excesses. Anaitis was a Scythian goddess and her cult was probably brought into Media by Cyrus on his return from the East. The Scythian tribes also had a custom of throwing the old and infirm to the dogs to devour. They did not permit their older folk to die naturally.

The most important Śaka god was Sūrya or Swaliyu. Statues of the Sun god with Śaka dress of the Iranian style are exhibited in the Mathura Museum.

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1 The Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect, p. 100.

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Diva was another Śaka god, which is *Dyau* of the Vedas and Zeus of the Greeks. The land was worshipped by the name of *Apiya* or *Apya*. Swaliyu was considered the son of father *Diva* and mother Apiya. The parentage of the Sun god is the same as *Dyāvā-prithivi*. Another Śaka god was *paka*, who can be *Bhaga*. These examples pointedly draw us to the conclusion that the Śakas were followers of the Vedic religion. The Śakas were also influenced by Iranians in their religion.

To decide the faith of the Śakas may be controversial but this much can be positively asserted that the religion of the masses during the Śaka period was tolerated and they allowed their subjects complete freedom to follow their chosen faiths.

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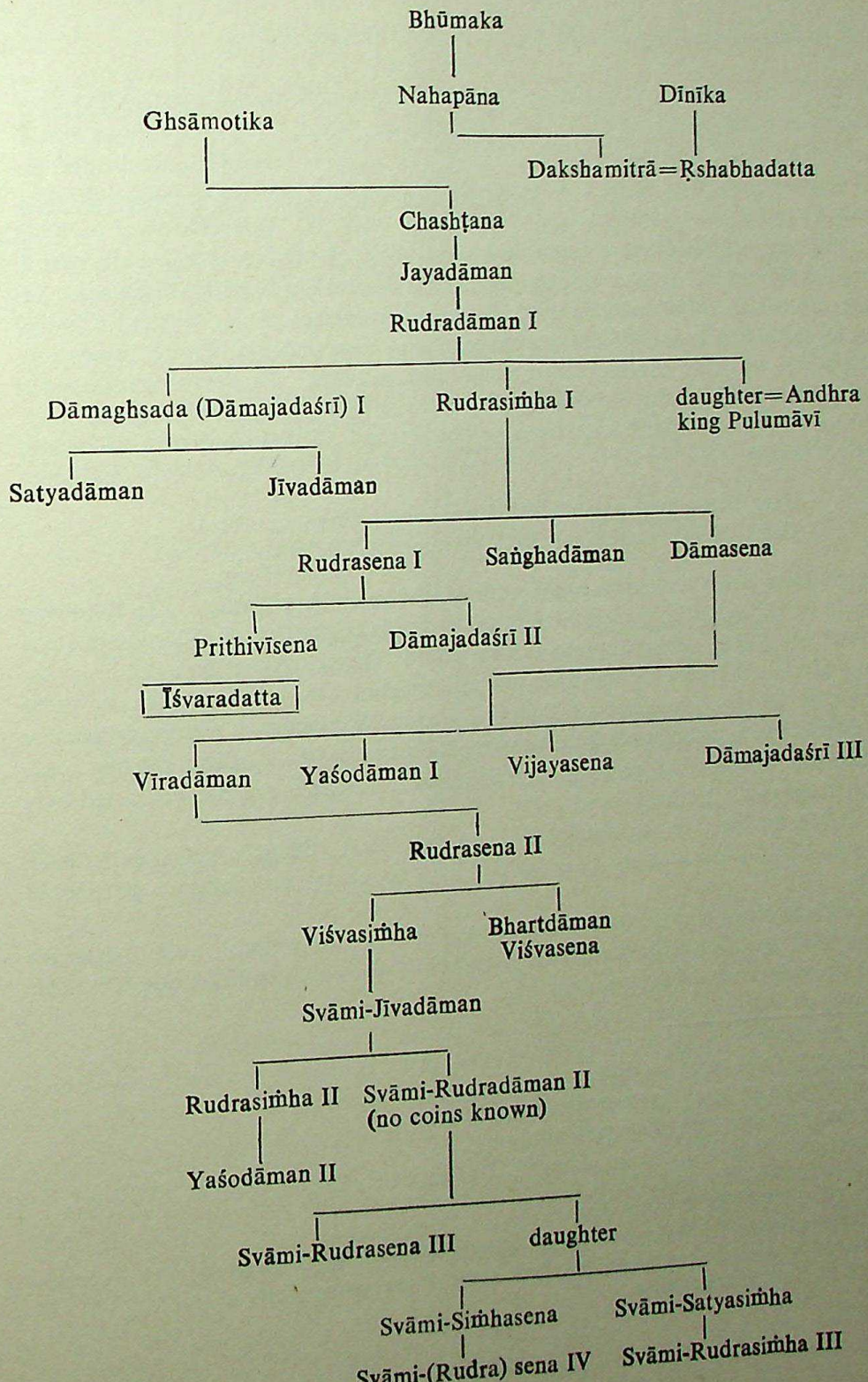
GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS



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APPENDICES

A. ŚŪDRAKA VIKRAMA : A HISTORICAL KING

Śudraka Vikrama was a great historical king of western India. He was a *brāhmaṇa* by birth, a man of extraordinary valour, and trained in the *śāsras*. He wrote the drama *Mṛchhakaṭika* and *Padmaprābhritakam*. Some western scholars have regarded him as a mythical personage. They were under a wrong inpression. A Śūdraka era was current for a long time in India. This era is mentioned in *Skanda Purāṇa*[1] and *Sumati-tantra* a work of *circa* 586 A.D., according to K.P. Jayaswal.[2] The following verses from *Jyotiṣa Darpaṇa* of *Yallayārya* give an idea of the Śudraka era :

Bāṇābdhi-guṇadasronā 2345 Śūdrakābdā kalergataḥ ॥ 71 ॥
Guṇābdhi-vyomarāmonā 3043 Vikramābdāḥ kalergatāḥ.[3]

Śūdraka was well known to the writers of ancient *Vaṁśāvalīs*. The following remarks of Captain Wilford will help to understand the position of Śūdraka in some of these lists. He writes, "Śūdraka is also styled Vicramāditya ; and there is the most material difference, between the various copies of the *Vaṁśāvali* : for in those current in the west, instead of Śudraca, we read Vicramāditya whose predecessor was Bhartri-Hari, or Śacwant and Samudrapāla his successor.....From the first year of Śudraca to the first year of Vicramāditya....., there are 343 years and only fifteen kings to fill up that place.[4]

These remarks in the first few lines are mutilated. Śūdraka Vikrama has been confounded with Chandragupta I. But the lines following do contain a portion of truth.

This Śūdraka was the first destroyer of the Śakas in western India. After his victory over the Śakas, he started his era which is also called a Vikrama era.[5] This era is probably the well known *Kṛta* era.

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[1] XL. 242-254.

[2] J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XXII, p. 191.

[3] बाणाब्धिगुणदस्रोना 2345 शूद्रकाब्दा कलेर्गता: ॥ 71 ॥
गुणाब्धिव्योमरामोना 3043 विक्रमाब्दा: कलेर्गता: ।
Catologue, Punjab University Library, Sanskrit Mss., Lahore, Vol. II, No. 3465.

[4] Asiatic Researches, Vol, IX, p. 202.
वत्सरं स्वं शकान् जित्वा प्रावर्तयत् वैक्रमं ॥ 11 ॥

[5] Krishṇa-caritam of Mahārāja Samudragupta, Goṇḍal, Kathiāwad ed., p.5. Recently a biased criticism has been levelled against the authenticity of this work. The work is, however, genuine.

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B. ŚAKAHŪSHU AND ŚAKAHVARTHAM IN THE MAHĀBHĀSHYA

The words *Śakahūshu* and *Śakahvartham* are found in the work of Patañjali.[1] These have not been discussed, so far. *Bhoja* in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*,[2] writes that one who invites the Śakas is called a *Śakahu*.' This shows that Śakas were invited to India before the time of Patañjali. This does not appear to be their invitation by the Jain teacher Kālaka. It seems to relate to the invitation of the Śakas from the *Śakadwīpa* to western India by *Sāmba*, a son of *Śrī Kṛishṇa*, the Yādava.[3]

This also proves that the Śakas were in India from a very early period.

C. THE ANCIENT VAṀŚĀVALĪS

Captain Wilford has preserved ancient *vaṁśāvalīs* or genealogical lists, in his essay on Vicramāditya and Śālivāhana.[4] Abul Fazl has also given a similar *vaṁśāvalī* while describing the princes of Mālwah.[5] These are reproduced below :

Wilford		*Ain-i-Akbari*	
1. Śālivāhana,	84	1. Sālivāhana	1
2. Naravāhana		2. Nirvāhana	100
3. Vansā-vāli or Putrarājas that is to say the royal offspring.	100	3. Putrāj, (Putra Rājas or Vansavalis without issue.)	100
4. Āditya	55	4. Aditya Panwār	86
5. Brahmā-raja	87	5. Brahmahraj	30
6. Ati-Brahmā	31	6. Atibrahma	90
7. Sadāśva	80	7. Sadhroshana	80
8. Harsha Megha or Rāsabha		8. Hemarth	100
		9. Gandharb	35
	437		622
Vicramāditya		Bikramajīt	

No. 1 in both the lists is a Sātavāhana king. He is followed by Naravāhana or Nahapāna. Next are placed the Putrarajas or Putrājs of the Ain-i-Akbari, who are no other than the *Kshatrapas* or the Chashṭanas or the Śakas. *Putra-rāja* or *rāja-putra* is

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1 VI. I. 91 and VI. I, 108.

2 1.4.100.

3 Sāmba-purāṇa.

4 A.R., Vol. IX, p. 161. This list is from an appendix to a manuscript of the *Agni Purāṇa*.

5 Vol. II, p. 210.

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the same as *bhadramukha* or Svāmi.[1] Āditya is Śūdraka Vikramāditya, also called Viśvapati.[2] All other names except Gandharba mentioned in the list of Ain-i-Akbari defy identification. Gandharba or Gardabhilla seems to have been given a much later place in order to bring him near Vikramāditya. The years assigned to various kings or dynasties, however, require careful scrutiny. In the list published in the *Satyārtha-Prakāśa* of *Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī*, the Guptas follow Vikramāditya, *e.g.*, Samudrapāla (or Samudragupta), Chandrapāla (or Chandragupta), Sahāyapāla, Devapāla (Devagupta or Skandagupta), Narasiṁhapāla (or Narasiṁhagupta) Sāmapāla, Raghupāla, Govindapāla.[3] That the Guptas followed Vikramāditya is attested by the various copies of the *vaṁśāvalī*, used by Captain Wilford. He writes : "We read Vicramāditya whose predecessor was Bhartrīhari or Sacwant and Samudrapāla (Samudragupta) his successor."[4]

These ancient *Vaṁśāvlīs*, so far neglected, certainly contain a good deal of truth. If they are scientifically edited, with the help of more material, better results might follow.

D. THE WORD RAUMAKA OR ROMAKA

In connection with the word *romaka* or *raumaka*, discussed already,[5] it may be pointed out that the mountain range near about Pind Dadan Khan in the Punjab is called the Raumaka range, according to General Cunningham's map showing the Punjab at the time of the campaign of Alexander.[6] This range has salt mines. A place on this range is named *Sakesar*. It may be headquarters of some ancient Śaka colony. A Śaka inscription, the Maira-well inscription was found in this salt range near Jhelum.[7] Professor Franklin Edgerton constructs a reading in his edition of the Sabhā-parva of the Mahābhārata :-

अन्ताखीं चैव रोमां च यवनानां पुरं तथा ।[8]

In his introduction he observes on this reading : "I have been so fortunate as to discover one datum of prime importance for its bearing on the date of this "original" text of the Mbh. In 2.28.49 occurs, in my opinion as a certain part of the original, the name of the city of Rome. It justifies the inference that our text

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[1] Above p. 93.
[2] A.R., Vol. IX, p. 182.
[3] Chapter XI.
[4] A.R., Vol. IX, p. 202.
[5] Above p. 20.
[6] A.S.I., 1862-65, Vol. II.
[7] C.I.I., Vol, II.
[8] Sabhā parva, 28.44, Poona ed., 1944.

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cannot have been composed at any time before this city name came to the ears of the Indians,....."[1]

Even if the construed text is correct, it is open to question whether, Romā means the city of Rome in Italy or the *Romaka* or *Raumaka* town somewhere on the Raumaka range.

E. TEXT OF INSCRIPTIONS

I. NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF USHAVADĀTA (PL. I)

1. Sidhaṁ *vase* 42 *Vesākhamāse* rāño *kshaharātasa kshatrapasa Nahapānasa* jāmātarā Dīnīka-putrena *Ushavadātena* saṁghasa chātudisasa imaṁ leṇaṁ niyātitaṁ data chānena akshayanivi kāhāpaṇa-sahasrā-
2. ni trini 3000 saṁghasa chātudisasa ye imasmiṁ leṇe vasaṁtānaṁ bhavisati chīvarika kuśaṇamūle cha ete cha kāhāpaṇā prayutā *Govadhana*-vāthavāsu śreṇisu kolīkanikāye 2000 vṛidhi paḍikaśata aparakolīkanikā-
3. ye 1000 vadhi pāyūnapaḍikaśata ete cha kāhāpaṇā apaḍidātavā vadhibhojā eto chivarika-sahasrāni be 2000 ye paḍike sate eto mama leṇe vasavuthāna bhikhunaṁ vīsāya ekīkasa chivarika bārasaka yā sahasra prayutaṁ pāyūnapaḍike śate ato kuśana-
4. mūla *kāpurāhāre* cha gāme *Chikhalapadre* datāni nāligerāna mulasahasrāni aṭha 8000 eta cha sarva srāvita nigamasabhāya nibadha cha phalakavāre charitratoti bhūyo nena dataṁ *vase* 41 *Kātika śudhe panarasa* puvāka *vase* 45
5. *panarasa* niyutaṁ bhagavatāṁ devānaṁ brāhmaṇānam cha karshāpaṇasahasrāṇi satari 70000 paṁchatriśaka suvarṇa kṛitā dina suvarṇasahasraṇaṁ mūlyaṁ
6. phalakavāre charitratoti.

E.I. Vol. VIII, No. 12, p. 82.

II. NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF USHAVADĀTA (PL. II)

1. Siddhaṁ rājñaḥ *kshaharātasya kshatrapasya Nahapānasya* jāmātrā Dīnīkaputreṇa *Ushavadātena* trīgośatasahasradena nadyā *Bārṇasāyāṁ* suvarṇadānatīrthakareṇa devatā-bhyaḥ brāhmaṇebhyaścha shoḍaśagrāmadena anuvarshaṁ brāhmaṇa-śata-sāhasrī-bhojāpayitrā
2. *Prabhāse* puṇya-tīrthe brāhmaṇebhyaḥ ashṭa-bhāryā-pradena *Bharukachhe Daśapure Govardhane Śorapārage* cha chatuśālā-vasadha-pratiśraya-pradena ārāma-taḍāga-udapānakareṇa *Ibā-Pārādā-Damaṇa-Tāpī-Karabenā-Dāhanukā* nāvāpuṇyatara-kareṇa etāsāṁ cha nadīnāṁ ubhatotīram sabhā-
3. prapā-kareṇa *Piṁḍitakāvaḍe Govardhane Suvarṇamukhe Śorpārage* cha Rāmatīrthe Charakaparshabhyaḥ grāme *Nānaṁgole* dvā-trī-śata-nāli-geramūla-sahasra-pradena *Govardhane Triraśmishu* parvateshu dharmātmanā idaṁ leṇaṁ kāritaṁ imā cha poḍhiyo Bhaṭāraka aṁñātiyā cha gato smiṁ varshāratuṁ *mālayehi* rudhaṁ *Utama-bhādraṁ* mochayituṁ.

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[1] p. XXVIII.

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4. te cha *Mālayā* pranādeneva apayātā *Utamabhadrakānaṁ* cha kshatriyānaṁ sarve parigrahā kṛitā tato smiṁ gato *Poksharāni* tatra cha mayā abhiseko kṛito trīṇi trīṇi cha gosahasarāni datāni grāmo cha data chānena kshetraṁ brāhmaṇas *Vārāhiputrasa Aśvibhūtisa* hathe kīṇitā mulena kāhāpaṇasahasrehi chatuhi 4000 ya sapitusataka nagarasīmāya utarāparāya dīsāya eto mama leṇe vasa-
5. tānaṁ chātudīsasa bhikhusaghasa mukhāhāro bhavisati.

E.I. Vol. VIII, No. 10, p. 78.

III. NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF UVHAVADĀTA (PL. III a)

1. Sidhaṁ rāṁño *kshaharātasa kshatrapasa Nahapānasa* dīhi-
2. tu *Dīnīkaputrasa Ushavadātasa* kuḍumbiniya *Dakhamitrāya* deyadhaṁmam ovarako.

E.I. Vol. VIII, No. 11., p. 81.

IV. NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF USHAVADĀTA (PL. III b)

1. Sidhaṁ rāño *kshaharātasa kshatrapasa Nahapāna-*
2. sa dīhitu *Dīnīkaputrasa Ushavadātasa*
3. kuḍuṁbiniya *Dakhamitrāya* deyadhaṁmaṁ ovarako

E.I. Vol. VIII, No. 13, p. 85.

V. NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF USHAVADĀTA (PL. IV)

1. ..... *ṭasa kshatrapasa Nahapānasa* jāmā-
2. ..... *Śakasa Ushavadātasa* netyakesu
3. ..... *Chechiṁñe Dāhanūkānagara Kekāpure*
4. ..... ? e *Anugāmimhi Ujeniya Sākhāya*
5. ..... to brāhmaṇā bhujate satasāha-
6. ..... vatā brāhamaṇānaṁ gavāṁ satasa-
7. ..... bhagavatā devāna brāhmaṇānaṁ cha datā
8. ..... *Chetrasudhe panarasa Kshaharā-*
9. ..... gavāṁ ? ta sahasradena *Usha-*
10. .....nadīye *Baṇāsayā* da-
11. ..... suvaṇa titha che ñayate tasa
12. .....

EI. Vol. VIII, No. 14 (a), pp. 85-86.

VI. KARLE CAVE INSCRIPTION OF MITRADEVAṆAKA (PL. V)

1. *Dhenukākaṭā Usabhadata* putasa *Mitade-*
2. *vaṇakasa* thabho dānaṁ

E.I., Vol. VII, No. 11, p. 56.

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VII. KARLE CAVE INSCRIPTION OF USHAVADĀTA (PL. VI a)

1. Sidhaṁ raño *khaharātasa khatapasa Nahapānasa* jā[ma]tarā [*Dī*]*na*[*nī*]*kapūtena* Usabhadātena ti-
2. go-sata-sahasa[de]ṇa nadiyā *Baṇāsāyā* s(su)vaṇa-tatha-karena (devatānam) brahmaṇana cha sola [sa] gā-
3. ma[d]e[na] *Pabhāse* pūta-tithe brahmaṇāṇa aṭha-bhāyā-p[r]a a .. [a]nuvāsaṁ pi tu sata-sahasaṁ bho-
4. japayita *Valūrakesu* leṇa-vāsinaṁ pavajitānaṁ chātu-disasa saghasa
5. yāpaṇatha gāmo [*Ka*] *r*[*a*]*jiko* dato sa.na...vāsitānaṁ

E.I. Vol. VII, No. 13, p. 57.

VIII. JUNAR CAVE INSCRIPTION OF AYAMA (PL. VI b)

1. [Rāño] *Mahākhatapasa sāmi Nahapānasa*
2. [Ā] *mātyasa* vachha-sagotasa *Ayamasa*
3. [de]yadhama cha [po] ḍhi maṭapo cha puñathaya vase 40 6 kato.

A.S.W.I., Vol. IV, No. 11, p. 103.

IX. NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ĀBHĪRA ĪŚVARADATTA (PL. VII)

1. Sidhaṁ rājñaḥ *Māḍhariputrasya* Śivadatta Ābhīra-putrasya.
2. *Abhīrasy -Eśvarasenasya saṁvatsare navama* .
3. *mhapakhe* chothe 4 divasa trayodaśa 13 ..
4. ya puvaya *Śak-Āgni-varmmaṇaḥ* duhitā gaṇapaka
5. *Rebhilasye* bharyayā gaṇapakasy[a] *Viśvavarmasya*
6. trā Śakanikayā upāsikāya *Vishṇudatāya* sarvasatvahi-
7. tasukhārthaṁ *Triraśmi*-parvata-vihāra-vāstavyasya chāturdiśa
8. bhikhusaṁghasya gilānabheshajārtham akshayanivī prayuktā ..... vāsta-
9. vyasu āgatānāgatāsu śreṇishu yataḥ kularikaśreṇyā haste karshāpaṇa-
10. sahasra 1000 odayaṁtrikaśreṇyā sahasarāṇi dve .....
11. ṇyāḥ atāni paṁcha 500 tilapishakaśreṇ ...
12. ete cha karshāpaṇā chatālepa .....

E.I. Vol. VIII, pp 88.

X. NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF VĀSIṬHIPUTA SIRI PULUMĀVĪ (PL. VIII)

1. Sidhāṁ raño *Vāsiṭhīputasa Siri Pulumāyisa savīchhare ekunavise 19 gimhāṇa pakhe* bitiye 2 *divase terase 13* rājaraño *Gotamiputasa Himavatameru*
2. *Madara-pavatasamasārasa Asika-Asaka-Mulaka-Suraṭha-Kukur-Āparaṁīta-Anupa-Vidabha-Ākarāvati*-rājasa Vijha-Chhavata pārichāta-Sahya-Kaṇhagiri-macha-Sirianṭa-Malaya-Mahida-
3. Seṭagiri Chakora pavatapatisa savarājaloka maḍala-patigahīta-sāsanasa divasakara-kara vibodhitakamalavimalasadisa-vadanasa tisamudatoyapītāvāhanasa patipuṇa-chadamaḍalasasirīka-

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4. piyadasanasa varavāraṇa vikama chāruvikamasa bhujagapatibhoga pīnavāṭavipuladīghasuda. bhujasa abhayodakadānakilinanibhayakarasa avipanamātusususākasa suvibhatativagadesakālasa.
5. porajananivisesa samasukhadukhasa khatiya dapamāna-madanasa *Saka-yavana-Palhava*-nīsūdanasa dhamopajita karavini yogakerasa kitāparadhāpi satujane apāṇahisāruchisa dijāvarakuṭubavivadha-
6. nasa *Khakharātavasa* niravasesakarasa *Sātavāhana*-kulayasapatithāpana karasa savamaḍalā bhivāditacha. ṇasa vinivatita-chātuvaṇasa-karasa anekasamarāvajitasatusaghasa aparājitavijayapatāka satujana-dupadhasanīya-
7. puravarasa kulapurisa paraparāgata vipula-rājasadasa āgamāna nilayasa sapurisānaṁ asayasa Sirīy. adhiṭhānasa upāchārāna pabhavasa ekakusasa ekadhanudharasa ekasūrasa ekabaṁhaṇasa Rāma-
8. Kesav-Ājuna-Bhīmasena-tulapaakamasa chhaṇagḥanusava samājakārakasa Nābhāga-Nahusa-Janamejaya-Sakara Yayāti-Rām-Ābarīsa-satejasa aparimitam akhayam achitam abhuta Pavana-Garula-sidha Yakha-Rakhasa-Vijādhara-a-Bhūta-Gadhava Chāraṇa-
9. Chada-Divākara-Nikhata-gaha-vichiṇa-samarasirasi jitaripusaghasa nāga varakhadhā gaganatalam-abhivigādhasa kulavipulasirikarasa *Siri-Sātakanisa* mātuya mahādevīya *Gotimiya Balasiriya* sachavachanadāna-khamā hisā niratāya tapadamaniya.
10. mopavāsātaparāya rājarisivadhusadam akhilam amividhīyamānāya kārita deyadhama ..... sikharasedise *Tirapahuṇ*-vata-sikhare vim. varani-visesamahiḍhika leṇa eta cha leṇa mahādevl mabārājamātā mahārajapitāmahī dadāti nikāyasa *Bhadavaṁ-Yānaiṁ* bhikhusaghasa.
11. etasa cha leṇasa chitaṇadam mita mahādevīya ayakāya evakāmo piyakāmo cha ṇat.....pathesaro pitupatiyo dhamasetusa dadāti gāma *Tiraṇhupavatasa* aparadakhiṇapase Pisājipadakaṁ savajātabhogniraṭhi.

E.I. Vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 60.

XI. NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ŚAKA DĀMACHIKA (PL. IX A)

1. Sidhaṁ *Śakasa Dāmachikasa* lekhakasa *Vudhīkasa*
2. *Vishṇudata*-putasa *Daśapura*-vāthavasa leṇa po—
3. ḍhiyo cha do 2 ato ekā poḍhi yā aparadha sa me mātā
4. . taro udisa.

E.I. Vol. VIII, No. 26, p. 95.

XII. NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ŚAKA DĀMACHIKA (PL. IX B)

1. Sidhaṁ Śakasa Dāmachikasa
2. leghakasa Vudhikasa poḍhī.

E.I. Vol. VIII, No. 27, p. 96.

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XIII. MATHURA LION CAPITAL INSCRIPTION (PLS. X a, X b, X c)

A.1. *Mahaksha (tra) vasa Rajulasa* agramahesh(r)i *Ayasia Kamuia* dhit(r)a *khar [r]-aostasa* yuvaraña mat[r]a Nada Diakasa [taye] sadha matra Ahubola(e) pitra-mahi Piśpas(r)ia bhratra Hayuarana sadha Hana dhi[tra] (a) a[te]urena horakapa rivarena iś(r)a pradhraviprat(r)e ś(r)enisime śarira prat(r)ithavit(r)o bhak(r)-avat(r)o Śakamunisa Budhasa. Muki [śri] raya saśpa [a]bhusavi(tā) thuva cha sagharama cha chat(r)u diś(r)asa saghasa sarva stivat(r)ana parigrahe

E. *Khar(r)aosto yuvaraya Kamuio Khalamasa* kumara Maja Kanitha saman-(u)mot(r)a k(r)a karita.

B. *Mahakshatravasa* Va(*ra*)*julasa* putra Kalui a varajo Śudasae Kshatrave Nauludo

M. *Kshatrave Śudi*(da)se imo padhravi prat(r)eś (r) o.

I. veyaudirna kadhavaro Busaparo kadhavaro vi ya urvaraparena palichhina nisimo karita niyat(r)it(r)o dhamadana (H) guhavihare

KL. ayariasa Budhat (r) evasa ut(r)aena ayimi[ta].

F. Budhilasa nak(r)araasa bhikhusa sarvastivat(r)asa.

G. *mahakshat(r)avasa Kusul(u)asa Patikasa Mevaki[sa] Miyikasa kshat(r)avasa* puyae.

J3. Sarvastivat(r)an aparigrahe.

N. Ayarisa Budhilasa nak(r)arak(r)asa Bhikhusa sarvastivat(r)asa pagra na mahasaghiana prama ñavit(r)ave *Khalulasa.*

O. sarvabudhana puya dhamasapuya saghasa priya.

P. *Sarvasa Sak*(r)*astanasa puyae.*

O. *Khardaasa kshatravasa.*

R. Takshilasa Kroninasa.

J. Khalaśamu śo.

C.I.I., Vol. II, pt. I, p. 48.

XIV. KAṄKĀLI TĪLĀ VOTIVE TABLET (PL. XI a)

1. Nama arahato vardhamānasa.
2. Sva[ā]misa *Mahākshatrapasa Śodāsasa Savatsare 40(?)2 hemanta māse 2 divase 9* Haritiputrasa yālasa bhayāye samasāvikāye.
3. Kochhiye *Amohiniye* sahā putrehi pālaghoshena poṭhaghoshena dhanaghoshena āyavatī pratithāpitā prāya [bha]
4. Āryavati arahata pujāye.

E.I. Vol. II, p. 199.

XV. INSCRIPTION OF ŚOḌĀSA (PL. XI b)

1. *Svāmisya mahākshatrapasya* Śoṁḍāsasya gaṁjavareṇa brāhmaṇena Śegrava sagotreṇa [p]...
2. raṇi imāshāṁ yamaḍa-pushkaraṇinaṁ paśchimā pushkaraṇi udapāno ārāmo stambho i ...
3. (śilā) paṭṭo cha.

E.I. Vol. IX, p. 247.

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XVI. INSCRIPTION OF ŚOḌĀSA (PL. XII a)

1. [v] .....
2. sa [s] ya .....
3. [vas] .....
4. [p] ... [ṇa] Śiva .....
5. shapu[t]r[e]ṇa Kauśi .....
6. Vasunā bhaga [va] (to-Vāsude)
7. vasya mahāsthāna ..... (śai)
8. laṁ toraṇaṁ ve (dikā cha prati)
9. shṭhāpito prīto [bha] (gavān Vāsu)
10. devaḥ Svāmi[sya] (Mahākshatra)
11. pasya *Śoḍā* [sa] (sya) .....
12. saṁvartayatāṁ.

E.I. Vol. XXIV, p. 208.

XVII. MIRJAPUR INSCRIPTION OF ŚOḌĀSA (PL. XIII)

1. ..... Śoṇḍāsasa amātyasa
2. ..... (bhāryā) ye deviye toraṇam kāritaṁ.

Mathura Museum No. 54. 3768.

XVIII. A NEW INSCRIPTION OF ŚOḌĀSA (PL. XIV)

1. Svāmisya mahākshatrapasya Śuṇḍāsasya gāṁjavarasya brāhmaṇasya
2. Śegravasa gotrasya *Mūlavasusya* bhāryāye Vasusya mātare
3. Kauśikiye Pākshakāye kāritā pushkariṇi imashaṁ yamaḍa pu-
4. shkaraṇinaṁ pūrvā pushkaraṇi ārāmo sabhā udapāno stambho śiriye pratimā
5. ye śilā paṭo ca

Mathura Museum, No. 79. 20.

XIX. INSCRIPTION OF A ŚAKA FROM KAṄKĀLĪ TĪLĀ (PL. XII b)

1. [na] mo arahato Vardhamānasya Gotiputrasa Poṭhaya *śaka*
2. kālavālasa.
3. (bhāryāye) Kośikiye Śimitrāye āyāgapaṭo pra(t)i (thāpito)

E.I. Vol. XXIV, p. 203-204.

XX. INSCRIPTION OF THE SON OF RĀJUBULA (PL. XXXIX)

1. ..... ūvulasya putrasya *mahākshatrapasya Ś[o][dasahya]*
2. ..... ti pārvato prāsād[o] sabh[āḥ] śilāpa[ṭā]
3. ..... taviryo raṇe Rajūlaś ca pi
4. .... [s] . syedam arcā

Mathura Inscriptions, H. Luders, ed. by Janert, Gottingen, 1961, p. 204.

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XXI. GIRIDHARAPUR JITLĀ INSCRIPTION (PL. XV)

1. vavika
2. mahārājasya 200 to bhu.....
3. Gotamiye Balānā .....
4. tumā
5. baladhikusya bh .. ....
6. bhāryaye dānaṁ sa[r]va.....
7. [dha] pūchaye sap [i] .. mada ..... .

Āchārya Pushpāñjali Vol., p. 286.

XXII. INSCRIPTION OF A KSHATRAPA FROM MATHURĀ (PL. XXXVIII)

1. ..... [upāsi] kaye Naṁdāye *Kshatrapasa*
2. ..... [Bo] dhisatva vis .... ṭare
3. sāvasatānām hitasu[khā]rtha [ṁ]
4. Savasthi [va] diyānaṁ parigrahe

J.U.P.H.S., Vol. XXI, 1948, p. 62.

XXIII. MATHURA MORA WELL INSCRIPTION (PL. XVII)

1. *Mahakshatrapasa Rājuvulasa* putrasa svāmi.....
2. bhagavatāṁ Vṛishṇinā[ṁ] paṁchavīrāṇāṁ pratimā[ḥ] śailadevagiri .....
3. ya[s]=To[shā]yāḥ śailaṁ śrīmad gṛiham-atulam=udadhasamadhāra .....
4. ārchādeśāṁ śailaṁ paṁcha jvalata ive paramavapushā .....

E.I. Vol. XXIV, p. 194.

XXIV. TAXILA COPPER PLATE : YEAR 78 (PL XVIII)

1. [*saṁva*]*tśaraye aṭhasatatimae 20 20 20 10 4 4 maharayasa mahaṁtasa Mogasa Pa*[*ne*]*masa masasa divase paṁchame* 4 1 etaye purvaye *kshaha*[*ra*]*ta*[*sa*]
2. [*Chukhsa*]sa cha *kshatrapasa Liako Kusuluko* nama tasa [pu]tro *Pati*[ko] *Takhaśilaye* nagare utarena prachu deśo Kshema nama atra
3. [de]śe *Patiko* apratithavita bhagavata Śakamuṇisa śariraṁ [pra]tithaveti [saṁgha]-ramaṁ cha sarvabudhana puyae matapitaraṁ puyayaṁt [o]
4. [*Kshatra*] *pasa* saputradarasa *ayubala*vardhi[e] bhratara sarva cha [ñatigabaṁdha] vasa cha puyayaṁto mahadanapati *Patikasa* jauvañae
5. Rohiṇimitrena ya ima[mi] saṁgharame navakamika

Rev : *Patikasa kshatrapa Liaka.*

C.I.I. Vol.II, pp. 28.29

XXV. ANDHAU INSCRIPTION OF CHASHṬANA : YEAR 11 (PL. XIX)

1. ... trapasa Ysāmotika putrasa
2. ... saṁ varshāye 11 pālitakasa
3. ... putrasa Mādhukānasa jāla
4. ... lasi-putrahi uthāpita

J.A.I.H., Vol. 2, p. 111

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XXVI. KHĀVDĀ (ANDHAU) INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADĀMAN I : YEAR (5)3 (PL. XX)

1. *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa*
2. *Yasāmotikka*-putras s[vā] mi-Chā [shṭa]—
3. *nasa* putrasa *rājño svāmi Ja* [*yadā*] *masa* putrasa
4. *rājño svāmi-Rudradāmasa* [*Varshe 50*] 3 *Śrāvaṇasa*
5. *ba 5 A*[*patha*]*kasa Śatruṁsaha*-pu-
6. trasa śrāmaṇera [sa] . . [go]trasa putre-
7. ṇa *Dhanadevena* yaṭhi [a] dhisthāpitā.

E.I. Vol. XXXVII, p. 142.

XXVII. ANDHAU INSCRIPTIONS OF CHASHTANA AND RUDRADĀMAN (PLS. XXI a b c and XXII)

1. Rājño *Chāshṭanasa Ys*[*ā*]*motika*-putrasa rājño *Rudradāmasa Jayadāma*-putrasa *varshe dvi-paṁchāśe 50 2*
2. *phaguṇa bahulasa dvitiyaṁ vā 2* Yaśadatāye Sīhamita dhitā Śenika-sagotrāṇa śāmaṇeriye
3. *Madanena Sīhila*-putrena kuṭubiniye [lashṭi] uthāpitā. Plate XXI a

1. Rājño *Chāshṭanasa Ysāmotika*-pu [trasa] r[ā] j [ño] *Ru*[*dradāmasa*] *Jayadāma*-
2. putra [*sa*] *varshe 50 2 phagu* [*ṇa*] *bahulasa dvitiyaṁ va 2*
3. *rishabhadevasa Treshṭadata*-putrasa *Opaśati*-gotrasa
4. pitr[ā] *Treshṭadatena* śrāmaṇ[e]rena lashṭi uthāpita. Plat XXI b

1. Rāj[ño] [*Chāshṭ*] *anasa Ysāmotika*-putrasa rājño *Rudradāmasa Jayadāma* putrasa
2. Va[r]sh[e] da[dvi]-pa[ṁ] cha[āśe 50] 2 phaguṇa *bahulasa da*[*dvi*]*tiya va 2 Madanena Sīhil* putreṇa [bha] giniye *Jeshṭha*vīrāye
3. [Si]hi[la-dhi]ta Opaśati sa gotrāye lashṭi uthāpita. Plate XXI c

1. Rajño *Ch*[*ā*] *shṭanasa Ysāmotika*-
2. pu[tra]sa rājño *R* [*u*] *dradāmasa*
3. *Jayadāma*-putrasa *varshe* dvi-pa[ṁ]-
4. [*chā*] *śe* 50 2 *phaguṇa bahulasa*
5. *dvitiyaṁ va 2 Ṛishabhadevasa*
6. *Sīhila* putrasa Opaśati-sa-gotrasa
7. bhrātr[ā] *Madanena* [*Sīhi*]*la*-putrena
8. lashṭi uthāpita. Plate XXII

E.I. Vol. XVI, p. 23-25.

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XXVIII. JUNĀGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADĀMAN (PL. XXIII)

1. Siddhaṁ [1] Idaṁ taḍhākaṁ *Sudarśanaṁ Girinagarād-a[pi]* ..... [mṛ][tti] kopala-vistārāyāmochchhraya-niḥsaṁdhi-baddha-driḍha-sarvva-pālikatvāt-parvvata-pā-

2. da-pprati-sparddhiṁ-suśli[shṭa] [bandh] ..... [va]jātenākṛitṛimeṇa setu-bandhenopapannaṁ supprati vihita-ppraṇālī-parīvāha-

3. mīḍha-vidhānam cha tri-ska[ndha] ..... nādibhiranugra[hai]rmahatyupachaye varttate tadidaṁ *rājño mahākshatrapasya* sugṛihi-

4. ta-nāmnaḥ *Svāmi Chashṭanasya* pautra [sya rājñaḥ kshatrapasya sugṛihītanāmnaḥ svāmi Jayadāmnaḥ putrasya rājño *mahākshatrapasya* gurubhirabhyasta-nāmno *Ru-*[*dra*] *dāmno varshe dvi-saptatita* [me] 70 2

5. *mārgaśīrsha-bahula-pra*[*ti*][*padi*] ..... spṛishṭavrishṭinā parjjanyena ekārṇava-bhūtāyāmiva pṛithivyāṁ kṛitāyāṁ girer-*ūrjayataḥ Suvarṇasikatā*

6. *Palāśinī* prabhṛitīnāṁ nadīnāṁ atimātrod-vṛittairvvegaiḥ setuma ..... [yamā] ṇānurūpa-pratīkāramapi giri-śikhara-taru-taṭāṭṭālakopatalpa-dvāra-śaraṇochchhraya-vidhvaṁsinā yuga-nidhana-saddri-

7. śa-parama-ghora-vogena vāyunā pramathi[ta]salila-vikshipta-jarjjarikṛitāva[dī] (rṇa).....[kshi]ptāśma-vṛiksha-gulma-latāpratānaṁ ānadī [ta] lādityudghāṭitamāsīt chatvāri hasta-śatāni vīśaduttarāṇyāyatena etāvaṁtyevā [vi] stī [rṇe]na

8. paṁcha-sapatati-hastānavagāḍhena-bhedena nissṛita-sarvva-toyaṁ marudhanva-kalpamatibhṛiśam du[rda] .... [sya]ārthe *Mauryasya rājñaḥ Chandra-*[*guptasya*] *rāshṭriyeṇa* [*vai*]*śyena Pushyaguptena* kāritam *Aśokasya Mauryasya* [kṛi]te Yavanarājena Tusha [ā] sphenādhishṭhāya

9. Praṇa[ā]libhirala[ṁ]kṛita[ṁ] [Ta]tkārita[yā[cha rājānurūpa-kṛita-vidhānayā tasmin[bhe]de dṛishṭayā pranāḍhyā vi[stṛi]ta se[tu] ..... ṇā ā garbhātprabhṛitya-vi[ha]ta-samudi[va-rā]jalakshmī-dhāraṇā-guṇata-ssarvva-varṇairbhigamya rakshaṇār-thaṁ-patitve vṛitena [ā]prāṇochchhvāsāt-purusha-vadhanivṛiti-kṛita-

10. satya-pratijñena anya[tra] saṁgrāmeshvabhimukhāgata-śaddṛisa-śatru-praharaṇa-vitaraṇatvāviguṇa-ri[pu].....ta kāruṇyena svayamabhigatajanapada-praṇipati [tā] [yu] shaśaraṇadena dasyu-vyāla-mṛigarogādibhiranu pasṛishṭa-pūrvva-nagara-nigama

11. janapadānām sva-vīryyārjitānāmanurakta-sarvva prakṛitinām *purvvāparākarāvant-yanūpa-nivridānarttasurāshṭra-śva* (*bhra-maru-kachchha-sindhu-sauvira-kukurāparānta-nishādādīnāṁ* samagrāṇāṁ tatprabhāvādya[thāvatprāpta-dharmārtha]-kāma-vishayāṇām vishayāṇāṁ patinā-sarvva-kshatrāvishkṛita

12. Vīra-śabda-jā[to]tsekāvidheyānāṁ *Yaudheyānāṁ* prasahyotsādakena *Dakshiṇā-patha*-patessātakarṇerdvirapi ṇīrvyājamavajītyā-vajītya saṁbaṁdhā[vi]dūra[ta]yā anutsādanātprāpta-yaśasā [vāda] ..... [prāpta] vijayena bhrashṭa-rāja-pratishṭhā-pakena yathārtha-hasto-

13. chahhrayārjita-dharmānurāgena śabdārtha gāndharvva-nyāyādyānāṁ vidyānāṁ mahatīnāṁ pāraṇa dhāraṇa-vijñāna-prayogāvāpta-vipula-kīrttinā turaga gaja-ra-thacharyyāsi-charma-niyuddhādyā.....ti parabala-lāghava saushṭhava-kṛiyeṇa sharaharddāna-mānāna-

14. vamāna-śilena sthūlalakshṇa yathāvatprāptairbaliśulka-bhāgaiḥ kanaka

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rajata-vajra-vaiḍūrya-ratnopachaya-vishyandamāna-kośena sphuṭa-laghu-madhurachitra-kānta-śabda-samayodārālaṁkṛita-gadya-padya[kāvya-vidhāna-pravīṇe]na pramāṇamānonmāna-svara-gati-varnṇa-sāra-satvādibhiḥ

15. parama-lakshaṇa-vyañjanairupeta - kānta-mūrttinā *svayamadhigata - Mahākshatrapa-nāmnā* narendra ka [nyā] svayaṁvaräneka-mālya-prāpta-dāmn [ā] *mahākshatrapeṇa* Rudradāmnā varsha-sahasrāya go-brā [hma] [ṇa] .....(rtthaṁ) dharmmakīrtivṛiddhyarthaṁ cha apīḍayi [tva] ā kara-vishṭi—

16. praṇaya-kṛiyābhiḥ paura-jānapadaṁ janaṁ svasmātkośā mahatā dhanaughena anatimahatā cha kālena triguṇa-dṛiḍhatara-vistārāyāmaṁ setuṁ vidhā[ya-sa]rvvata [ṭe] ..... [su] darśana-taram kāritamiti [Asmi] nnarthe

17. [cha] mahā [ksha] trapa [sya] matisachiva-karmasachivairāmāty a guṇa samadyuktairapyati-mahatvādbhedasyānutsāha vimukha matibhi[ḥ] pratyākhyātarambha(ṁ).

18. punaḥ setubandha-nairāśyād-hāhābhūtāsu prajāsu ihādhishaṭhāne paurajānapadajanānugrahārtham pārthivena kritsnāṇāmāarta-surāshṭrānāṁ pālanārtthaniyuktena

19. *Pahlavena kulaipa-putreṇāmātyena Suviśākhena* yathāvadartha-dharma-vyavahāradaraśanairanurāgamabhivarddhayatā-śaktena-dāntenāchapalenāryyeṇa āhāryyeṇa

20. svadhitishṭhitā dharma-kīrtti-yasāṁsi bharturabhivarddhayatānushṭhita [mi] ti.

E.I. Vol. VIII, p. 43.

XXIX. GUNDĀ INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀKSHATRAPA RUDRASIṀHA I (PL. XXV)

1. Siddha[ṁ] *rajño mahakshatra[pas]ya svami Chāshṭana* prapautrasya *rājño kshatrapasya svami Jayadāma* pautrasya
2. [sya] *rāj* [ño] *maha-kshatrapasya sv*[ā] *mi-Rudradāma* putrasya *rājño kshatrapasya Svāmi Rudra-*
3. *Sīhasya* [*va*]*rshe* [*tri*]*y-uttara-śate 100 3 Vaiśākha śuddhe* paṁcham [i] dha[t]ya tithau *ro*[*hi*]*ṇi* naksha-
4. tra-muhūrtta[e] *Ābhīreṇa Senāpati Bāpakasya* putreṇa *Senāpati-Rudrabh*[*ū*]*tinā* grāme *Raso-*
5. [pa] driye vā[pi] [kha]ni[to] [baṁddh] āpitaścha sarvva-satvānāṁ hita-sukhārthamiti.

E.I. Vol. XVI, p. 235.

XXX. VAṆḌH INSCRIPTION OF RUDRASIṀHA I: YEAR 105 (PL. XXVI)

1. *Rājño Mahāksha* [*tra*[*pasa Svāmi* [*Rudra*] *dāma*-putra-
2. *sa* [*rā*]*jño Ma* [*hākshatra*]*pasa Svāmi-Rudrasiṁha*
3. *sa variśe 100*[*5*] [*Kārttika*] *ba* [*hula*] *divase bitipā-*
4. ayām titthau ṁātṛi sevīkāe Goṁ-ndra-kaṁ (ṭhita) *Atimu-*
5. *taka*-sagotrāe [jaśṭi] [A] *jamitrena* uthapita
6. *Kaśadeśikae.*

E.I. Vol. XXXVII, p. 144.

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XXXI. ANDHAU INSCRIPTION OF RUDRASIṂHA : YEAR 114 (PL. XXVII)

1. — — putrasya rājño Kshatrapasya — —
2. *dāma*-pautrasya rājño ma [hākshatra]
3. pasya svāmi *Rudra dāma* putrasya
4. rājño mahākshatrapasya svāmi *Rudrasiṁ* —
5. *hasya* varshe 100 10 4 *je* [*jye*]*shṭha* muliye
6. [śu] dha dvādaśiyami [ti] pratishṭhā pe (?)
7. — Ābhīra pu śa ku — — — —
8. — — [pu] tra [sya]
9. devā [?] nikasa gotra (sya) — — —
10. Naṅdaka haste yashṭi uthāpitā.

Sambodhi, Vol. 3, No. 2-3, p. 46.

XXXII. KAṆHERI LEṆA INSCRIPTION (PL. XXXVI b)

1. ..... [*vā*]*sishṭh*[*i*]*putrasya Śrī-Sāta*[*karṇi*]*ī*[*s*]yadevyā(ḥ) *Kārddamakarāja* Vaṃśa-pra [bha]v[ā]y[ā] *maha Kshatra* [*pa*] *Ru.* [p] utry (āḥ) ...
2. ..... śya ..... [i]śvasyasya amātyasya Śaterakasya pānīyabhājanaṁ deyadharm[m]a[ḥ]

No. 11, p. 78, A.S.W.I., Vol. V, 1883.

XXXIII. JUNĀGARH INSCRIPTION OF JAYADĀMAN'S GRANDSON (PL. XXVIII)

1. ..... s-tathā sura-gaṇ [ṇ]a [kshtatrā] ṇām pratha[ma].....
2. ..... *Chāshṭanasya* pra[pau]trasya *Rājñaḥ Ksha*[*trapa*]*sya Svāmi-Jayadāma* pa [au] trasya *rājño* ma[*hā*].....
3. ..... [*chai*] *tra śuklasya divase paṁchame* 5 i[ha] *Girinagare* devāsura-nāga ya-[ksha]-rā(ksha)se.....
4. ..... thapa[pu]ramiva .... kevali-(jñā)na-saṁ...nāṁ...jarā maraṇ [a].....

E.I. Vol. XVI, p. 241.

XXXIV. JUNĀGARH INSCRIPTION OF JĪVADĀMAN I (PL. XXIX)

1. .... [*Ksha*] *trapasya sv* [*ā*] *mi Jīvadāmasya* etāya pūrvvāya *varsh* [*e*] *100* ....
2. .... [Va]stradattasya vāstuna[ṁ]dikasya Vas[tu] śarmmakasya Rāmakasya putr[a]...

E.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 340.

XXXV. MŪLVĀSARA STONE INSCRIPTION OF RUDRASENA I (PL. XXX)

1. *Rājño Mahakshatrasa* [*sya*] *sā* [*svā*] *mi Rudrasenasya*
2. *Varshe 232* [*122*] *Vaisākha bahula paṁchamyāṁ*
3. imam ..... *vānijakasya* putreṇa
4. prati jivitaṁ dattaṁ tha [sva] mitra [trāya]hi ji [ni] jasa [sya].....

Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kattyawar. p. 23.

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XXXVI. GAḌHĀ INSCRIPTION OF RUDRASENA I (PL. XXXI)

1. [*Va*]*rshe* 100 20 [*bhā*] *drapada-bahulasa* 5 *Ra* [*rā*] *jño mahakshat*[*r*]*apasa*
2. *Bhadramukhasa svam (svāmi) Chāshṭana* putra papautrasya *rājño ksha* [*tra*]*pasa*
3. *Svāmi Jayada* [*dā*] *ma*-putra-pautrasya *rājño mahakshatrapasya Bhadramukhasya*
4. [*sva*]*ma Rud*[*ra*]*dāma*-pautrasya *rājño Ma*[*ha*]*ksha*[*tra*]*pasya bhadramukhasya svā* [*m*] *i*
5. *Rudrasīha* [putra] sya *rjāño Mahakshatrapasya svāmi Rudrasenasya* idam śatraṁ
6. Mānasa-sa-got[tra]sya pra[tā]*Śaka*-putrasya Khar[ra] patthasya bhātrabhiḥ uthavita [ṁ] sva [rga]
7. .....

E.I. Vol. XVI, p. 238.

XXXVII. INṬWĀ CLAY SEALING OF RUDRASENA (PL. XXXII a)

1. *Mahārāja-Rudrasena-vīhāre*-bhīkshu-saṁghasya.

E.I. Vol. XXVIII. p. 175.

XXXVIII. KĀNĀKHERA INSCRIPTION OF SVĀMI JĪVADĀMAN (PL. XXXII b)

1. Siddhaṁ Bhagavatastridaśa gaṇa-*senāpaterajitasenasya svāmī Mahāsena* mahāteja ... sāditya-vīryya *Jīvadāma*.....
2. dharmma-vijayena *Śaka-Nanda*-putreṇa *Mahādaṇḍanāyakena Śakena Śrīdhara-va* [*rmma*]*ṇā* Varmma....śrā[śri]ya svarājyābhi-vriddhikare vejayike *sa*[ṁ] *vatsare trayoda-śam* [*e*].
3. *Śravaṇa-bahulasya daśamī pūrvvakametaddivasaṁ* kalyāṇābhyudaya-vriddyartha-m-akshaya svarggāvāptimetaddharma yośorttham dharmmāsi-saṁbuddhayā-srāddha...
4. Śakhāte chatuḥ satya .. tukoyam ... i ... māpi ..kāpi[ñ]chama ..salilaḥ sarvādhi-gamyaḥ sadā.
5. Satvānā [ṁ] priya-darśano jala-nidhirddharmmāmalaḥ..gataḥ...pya.....prāchya....
6. kū(paḥ) *Śridharavarmmaṇā* guṇavatā khānāpitoyaṁ śubhaḥ 200 1...sa..stu

E.I. Vol. XVI, p. 232,

XXXIX. ERAṆ STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF ŚRIDHARAVARMAN (PL. XXXIII)

1. Siddhaṁ *rajñā*(*jño*) *Mahākshatrapasa*[*sya*] sva-vīryyā(rjji) ta vijaya-vipula-kīrttera ..... [sya]
2. *Śakana*[*nda*]-*putrasya* dha[rmma] vijayinaḥ [*Śrī*]*dharavarmma*[ṇaḥ]..... [svarājyā]
3. bhivriddhikare *Vaijayike saṁ*[*va*]*tsare saptavimśatiye 207*.....
4. etaddivasa *merikiṇādhishṭhāṇe* [ne] sya nage [ndrā] hārabā [hi] rikāyāṁ ... [nārā]
5. yaṇa-svāminā bhakti-pū [rvvaṁ] tīrttham go-brāhmaṇa-purogasya chādhi ..... mā ....

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6. bhivridhā [ddhya] rtthaṁ *rājñaḥ ārakshikenac[se] nā[pa]ti-Satyanāgena ma*[hārā] ..... [pra] mv—
7. khena *māhārāshtrena* [*ṇa*] śāntikarddhi-sarvva-satva [ttva]-[su] kha-hitāya sva.....
8. api cha[ā] si[dhya]nte preritāntāt prithu-pri [thivimi] śa [mā]na[ne]narendre nā [gai] re [va] ..... .
9. Vapushā kshatra-rāshṭra[sya] dharmmā[n] yashṭiśshishṭāmakhaṇḍa-sthiti ta ...
10. -sevādara-ripu [su][hridāṁ] sthānametaprajānām [11]

C.I.I., Vol. IV, p. 605.

XL. DAULATPUR INSCRIPTION OF ĪŚVARADEVA ĀBHĪRA (PL. XXXIV)

1. ..... nasya
2. rājye vase 6 [gi]
3. mha ditiya māsaḍa-
4. sa vāseratri [tra] rājye va-
5. susagotrāye
6. priti svāmine va-
7. Sudotaka- sutāya
8. Abhiraya [jai]
9. yaka-pautrasya ba-
10. rāhadeva-putrasya
11. [regareśvara] devasya
12. ..... gotra hitāya
13. [lashṭhi] uthāpita [ā]

J.O.R.I. Baroda, XVIII p. 237.

XLI. MEVĀSĀ INSCRIPTION OF BHARTRIDĀMAN : YEAR 205 (PL. XXXV)

1. Sidham *Rājño Mahākshatrapasya Svāmi-Chashṭaṇa—*
2. putra-prapautrasya *rājño Mahākshatrapasya Bhartri* [*ṭri*] *dāma-*
3. putra-prapautrasya *Rājño Mahākshatrapasya Varsha śata*
4. *200 5 utre kadaṁba-putrasya* [Svatikshava-pratasya] *Ābhīrasya*
5. Ha [ri] hi [va] kaṁda-naptusya *Vasudevasya Gu* [*la*] *ka dahitusya*
6. *Kā* [*rti*] *kasa* [*śukla*] *5 rājye-ddhasya bhartu* [ḥ] yaṭṭi pushṭaye
7. ... [shṭhā] pi [tā] [le] kha-kama cha Kataṁ

E.I., Vol. XXXVII, p. 146.

XLII. GOṆḌALA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF RUDRASENA III : 272 (PL. XXXVI a)

1. [Siddham] r[*a*]*jño mah*[*ā*]*kshatrapa*[*s*]*ya* [*Rudrase*]*nasya va*[*rshye*] *dvisavatara* .....
2. *śatame* 200 70 [2] [*Ā*]*bhīra-* [*Kasi*] *bala-Siṁhasena-putra-sya*.....
3. sarva-satva-hita-s[u] kha-ārttha [ṁ] ve[di][prati]shṭhāpita *Phalgū*[*na*]-*śudhe dvi*[*ti*].....

E.I. Vol. XXXV, p. 192.

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XLIII. DEVNI MORI INSCRIPTION OF RUDRASENA : KATHIKA YEAR 127. (PL. XXXVII)

1. Namas-sarvvajñāya jñan-ānakpama-kāruṇyā-prabhāva nidhaye namaḥ Samyak-saṁbuddha-sūryyāya paravādi-tamo-nude *Saptā-viṁśaty-adhikae-kathika nṛipāṇāṁ samāgate-bda-śate*
2. *Bha* [*bhā*] *drapada-paṁchama-dine* nṛipatau *Śri-Rudrasene* cha kra[kṛi] tam= avani-ketu-bhūtam-mahā vihārāśraye mahā stūpain (pam)-satuānek-ānugraha-niratābhyāṁ Śākyabhikshubhyāṁ (bhyām)
3. *Sādhv-Agnivarmma-nāmnā* Sudarśanena cha vimuktaraṁdhareṇa kārmmāntikau cha Paśāntika Paḍḍau [Śā] kya-bhikshukāv=atra Daśabala-śarīranilayaś=śubha-śailamayas=svayaṁ varāheṇa
4. kuṭṭimaka(kri)ta kra(kṛi)to=yaṁ samudgakas=Sena-putreṇa Mahāsena bhikshur =asya cha kārayitā viśrutaḥ samudgasya
5. Sugata-prasāda-kāmo vṛiddhy-arttham-dharmma-Saṅghābhyāṁ (bhyām).

E.I. Vol. XXXVII, pp 68-69.

XLIV. JUNAR CAVE INSCRIPTION OF AḌUTHAMA

1. Koṇāchika seṇiya
2. Uvasako *Āḍuthuma*
3. *Sako* vaḍālikāyaṁ
4. Karajamula nivataṇā
5. ni visa kaṭaputake
6. Vaḍamule nivata-
7. ṇāni [na] va

A.S.W.I., Vol IV, p.96, No. 24.

XLV. AMARAVATI INSCRIPTION OF A ŚAKA (PL. XL a)

1. Sidham (Ś)akagiri-nev[ā]saka-Mahā [na] vakama [ka] sa bhaya[la]ka...Budha b [i]. tu [sa] ..... [ne] va sa ka sa [go] — ya [na] yā ra
2. heghasa Sihagi [ri] navakamakasa [ṭu] maru [gi] ta sa ya ta ra . . ka sa ka tu sa. lu ra na ka su ka [ṭha] ka su [ṇa] ga pa va ta
3. Mahānāvakasa . da ka ya ra su [ba] sa che ta ka pa ra la cha tu [makara] la ha ka ya mā tu ya na cha ya Budha . . chadaya cha
4. ..... kha ha ..... ma la ya va sa na [ta] ra ma .... ba dha ya .... udhapamanapaṭa pa pi ta aya Pusa.

E. I. Vol. XV, No 55, p. 274.

XLVI. NĀGĀRJUNAKONDA EPIGRAPH OF ŚAKA MODA

1. Sid[dhaṁ] *Sakasa Modasa* bak[i]n[i]ya Budh[i]ya pat[i]padā deyadhame

E.I. Vol. XX, p. 37.

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XLVII. CHANDRAVALLI INSCRIPTION OF MAYŪRAŚARMAN

1. Kadambāṇam *Mayuraśammaṇā* viṇimmiam
2. tāṭākam dūbha Tekūṭa *Abhira Pallava* Pāñ
3. yāttika Sakasthā [ṇa] Sayindhaka Puṇātā Mokari [ṇā]

Arch. Survey of Mysore, 1929, p. 50.

XLVIII ALLAHABAD INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

1 to 22 .....

23. paritoshita-prachaṇḍa-śāsanasya aneka-bhrashṭa rājyotsanna-rājavaṁśa praishṭhā-panodbhūta-nikhila-bhu[va]na-[vicharaṇa-śa]nta yaśasaḥ *Daivaputra-Shāhi Shāhānushāhī-Śaka-muruṇḍaih*-Sāmhalakādibhiścha.

C.I.I. Vol. III, p. 6 ff.

XLIX. BARGAON GRANT OF RATNAPĀLA

II Plate. (Obverse)

34. .. ñ=ca yac=ca *Śaka-kṛiḍā śakuni driḍha-pañjareṇa*.....

J.A.S.B. Vol. XLVII, p. 109.

L. SAINDHAVA COPPER PLATE GRANT NO. A

1 to 43.....

44. Shree jāī(i)kamalayaśa(ḥ) prasarāptaviśvervvi(bi)śvāsitāptagurūbandhūjane svarājyaṁ[jyam] bhunj(bhuñj) tyaḍolikhadiha svadhiya prasūto yo vikkaṭātsa Kapilas-tilakaḥ *śakānāṁ* (*nām*)

45. .....

E.I. Vol. XXVI, p, 203.

LI. SHAHDAUR INSCRIPTION OF DĀMIJADA (PL. XLI)

1. *Ra*[*ja*]*n*[*o*] *Damijadasa sakasa* ..... [shashtihae 20 20 20] sabhadusa savalavadhapitra sardha cha
2. Mitravadhanap[u]tra [hita] [e] [vipra] mata [bharatara]

C.I.I. Vol. II, p. 16.

LII. INSCRIPTION OF A MAHĀKSHATRAPA PROM PAWNI (PL. XLII)

1. Sidhaṁ *Mahakhattava Kumārasa*
2. *Rupiaṁmasa* Chhāya
3. Khaṁbho

E. I. Vol. XXVII, p. 201.

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LIII. FRAGMENTARY STONE INSCRIPTION FROM PATANVAV (PL. XLIII)

1. Rājño mahākshatrapasya svāma (mi)— — — —
2. — — — putrasya saāmi Dāma—
3. — — dhasya tritiyam 3 chaṁtaka

A.R. Department of Archaeology, 1975-76 Gujarat, p. 5.

LIV. INSCRIPTION OF A MAHĀKSHATRAPA FROM MATHURA (PL. XL b)

1. Siddhaṁ namo stvashamyaḥ
2. Mahārāja Mahākshatrapama —
3. — — — —

E.I. Vol. II. p. 199.

LV. INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADĀMAŚRĪ (PL. XLIV)

1. [Si] ddhaṁ *Mahārāja* ... tataṅga *Rudradāmaśri* ....
2. [e] tāya [pū].. ṁ: [ga] masya ja [ḍḍa] ...
3. masya..... [Ku] lika vet [i]....
4. ..... [pratishṭhā] pitaṁ [tam] prīya ....

E.I. Vol. XXXIV, p. 245.

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F. TRANSLITERATION OF COIN LEGENDS

1. Bhūmaka		(*i*) Kshaharā (tasa Kshatra) pasa Bhūmakasa; in Brāhmī. (*ii*) Chaharadasa Cha (trapasa Bhūmakasa) in Kharoshṭhī.
2. Nahapāna		(*i*) Rājño Kshaharātasa Nahapānasa: in Brāhmī. (*ii*) Raño Chaharatasa Nahapanasa: in Kharoshṭhī.
3. Chashṭana	Kshatrapa	(*i*) Rājño Kshatrapasa Ghasamotīkaputra (sa—): in Brāhmī. (*ii*) Raño Cha (trapasa——); in Kharoshṭhī.
4. Chashṭana	Mahākshatrapa	(*i*) Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Ghsamotikaputrasa Cashṭanasa: in Brāhmī. (*ii*) Chaṭhanasa: in Kharoshṭhī.
5. Jayadāman	Kshatrapa	Rājño Kshatrapasa Svāmi-Jayadāmasa.
6. Rudradāman I	Mahākshatrapa	Rājño Kshatrapasa Jayadāmaputrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmasa.
7. Dāmaghsada: Dāmajadaśrī I	Kshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmna putrasa Rājño Kshatrapasa Dāmajadaśriya.
8. Dāmaghsada	Mahākshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmna putrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmajadaśriya.
9. Jīvadāman	Mahākshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmajadasa putrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Jīvadāmasa.
10. Rudrasiṁha I	Kshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmaputrasa Rājño Kshatrapasa Rudrasīhasa.
11. Rudrasiṁha I	Mahākshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmaputrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasīhasa.
12. Satyadāman	Kshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasya Dāmajadaśriya putrasya Rājño Kshatrapasya Satyadāmna.

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13. Rudrasena I	Kshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasīhasa putrasa Rājñaḥ Kshatrapasa Rudrasenasa.
14. Rudrasena I	Mahākshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasīhasa putrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenasa.
15. Pṛthivisena	Kshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenasa putrasa Rājño Kshatrapasa Pṛthivisenasa
16. Saṅghadāman	Mahākshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasīhasa putrasa Mahākshatrapasya Saṁghadāmna.
17. Dāmasena	Mahākshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasīhasa putrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenasa.
18. Dāmajadaśrī II	Kshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenaputrasa Rājñaḥ Kshatrapasa Dāmajadaśriyaḥ.
19. Vīradāman	Kshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenasa putrasa Rājñaḥ Kshatrapasa Vīradāmnaḥ.
20. Īśvaradatta: *Ābhira King*	Mahākshatrapa First year	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Īśvaradattasa varshe prathame.
21. Īśvaradatta:	Second year	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Īśvaradattasa varshe dvitīye.
22. Yaśodāman I	Kshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenasa putrasa Rājñaḥ Kshatrapasa Yaśodāmnaḥ.
23. Yaśodāman I	Mahākshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenasa putrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Yaśodāmnaḥ.
24. Vijayasena	Kshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenasa putrasa Rājñaḥ Kshatrapasa Vijayasenasa.
25. Vijayasena	Mahākshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenaputrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Vijayasenasa.
26. Dāmajadaśrī III	Mahākshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenaputrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmajadaśriyaḥ.
27. Rudrasena II	Mahākshatrapa	Rājñaḥ Kshatrapasa Vīradāmaputrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenasa.

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28.	Viśvasiṁha	Kshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasena-putrasa Rājñaḥ Kshatrapasa Viśvasīhasa.
29.	Viśvasiṁha	Mahākshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasena-putrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Viśva-sīhasa.
30.	Bhartṛdāman	Kshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasena-putrasa Rājñaḥ Kshatrapasa Bhartṛ-dāmnaḥ.
31.	Bhartṛdāman	Mahākshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasena-putrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Bhartṛ-dāmanaḥ.
32.	Viśvasena	Kshatrapa	Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Bhartṛdāma-putrasa Rājño Kshatrapasa Viśvasenasa.
33.	Rudrasiṁha II	Kshatrapa	Svāmi Jīvadāmaputrasa Rājño Kshatra-pasa Rudrasihasa.
34.	Yaśodāman II	Kshatrapa	Rājña Kshatrapasa Rudrasīhaputrasa Rājṇa Kshatrapa Yaśodāmnaḥ.
35.	Svāmi-Rudrasena III	Mahākshatrapa.	Rājña Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi-Rudra-dāmaputrasa Rājña Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi Rudrasenasa.
36.	Svāmi-Siṁhasena		Rājña Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi-Rudra-sena Rājña Mahākshatrapasa Svasriyasya Svāmi-Siṁhasenasa.
37.	Svāmi-Siṁhasena		Mahārāja-Kshatrapa svāmi Rudrasena-svasriyasya Rājña Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi Siṁhasenasya.
38.	Svāmi (Rudra) sena IV	Mahākshatrapa	Rājña Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi-Siṁha-senaputrasa Rājña Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi (Rudra) senasa.
39.	Svāmi-Rudrasiṁha III	Mahākshatrapa	Rājña Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi-Satya-siṁhaputrasa Rājña Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi Rudrasiṁhasa.

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The list of articles is not exhaustive.

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A

Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi, 117
Abhinanda, 21, 89
Ābhīras, 16, 26, 31, 34-36, senāpati, 80, 83
Abiriā, 10
Abuhola, 95
Abul Fazl, 20, 40, 41, 60, 123
Abul Hasan Ali, 20
Achaemenian, 92
Adbhuta-sāgara, 15
Ādi-purāṇa, 64
Aḍutthama, a Śaka, 36
Afghanistan, 93
Agguka II, 37
Agnivarman, a Śaka, 26
Āin-i-Akbari 20, 40, 60, 63, 123
Ajamitra, 32
Ajmer, 66
Akalañka-charita, 41
Ākara-avanti, 76
Alana Mt., 6
Alberuni, 19, 45, 46, 56, 57, 112
Alexander, 120
Allahabad, 37, 138
Almansūra, 45
Alpine, 3
Altai, 110
Altekar, A.S., 20
Amara, 87
Āmarāja, 46
Amarāvati, inscription from, 36
Amaruka, a poet, 22
Amarukosha, 87
Amlāṭa, 17
Amitāya, 118
Āmohini, 97
Ānandapura, 76
Ananta, 41
Ānartta, 76
Andhau inscriptions, 30-32, 72-74
Āndhra-bhrtyas, 18
Āndhras or Andaja, 14, 16, 61, 73
Andhu (well), 16
Añkuśa, 106, 108
Anūpa, 76, 131
Aparānta, 76-78
Apathaka, 30
Apollodotus, 99
Arabian Sea, 9
Arabic, 2, 11
Aras, 4
Āraṭṭakas, 12
Arāvali, 77
Araxes, the Aras river, 4
Arrian, 9
Artā, 97
Ārya Nāga Hasti, 54
Āryāvarta, 45, 111
Aśmakuṭṭa, 17
Aska-tangaka, 6
Aśoka, 77, 78
Ashṭādhyāyī, 16
Ashṭa-giri, 6
Ashtāñga-hṛdaya, 20
Ashṭāñga-Saṁgraha, 18
Aspavarma, 108
Atimutaka, 32
Atīta, 50
Atiteshu, 50
Āvaśyaka-sūtra, 64, 100
Avesta, 6, 62, 74
Ayāgapaṭṭa, 97
Ayama, 25, 64, 68, 114
Ayasi Kamuia, 95, 119
Ayodhyā, 13, 14
Azes, 93, 106, 107, 108
Azilises, 93, 94, 108
Azof, a sea, 4

B

Bactria, 116
Bahar, a river, 2
Bahiriki, 34
Bāhlīkas, 12, 15, 16, 21, 115
Bāhu, 13, 14
Bakhale, 58, 61
Bālakāṇḍa, 12
Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, 20, 21, 71
Banerji, R.D., 58, 73
Bangā, 15
Bāpaka, a senāpati, 80
Barbaricum, 10
Barbaras, 2, 7, 13
Barberi, 10
Bargaon, 37, 138
Barkarmis, 20
Barnett, L.D., 11
Basārh (Vaiśālī), 82
Behistun, or Bistun, 1
Beloortag, 6
Bhachhaṭṭhaṇāṇa, 18, 69, 81
Bhadrabāhu Svāmi, 64
Bhadra, a dynasty, 81
Bhadra Chashṭanas, 61, 69
Bhadramukha, 33, 61, 81, 114, 124

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Bhāgavata, 7, 15
Bhagvan Lal Indraji, 83
Bhaṇḍārā, a taluk, 37
Bhandarkar, 16, 58, 72
Bhārata battle, 13, 14
Bhārata, 114
Bharata Muni, 16, 17
Bharatapura, 77
Bharoch, 76
Bhartridāman, 34, 35, 85, 86, 88, 104, 112
Bhartrihari, 48, 85
Bharukachchha, 64, 65, 67, 76 77
Bhāskara, 46, 55, 56, 59
Bhāsvatī, 42
Bhaṭṭāchārya, Binayatosh, 71
Bhaṭṭa-Utpala, 15, 42, 47, 55-57
Bhaṭṭhaṭṭaṇāna, 69
Bhaṭaṭubāna, 19
Bhavishya Purāṇa, 115
Bheraghat statues, 26, 63
Bhīma, a poet, 118
Bhīshma-parva, 7, 8
Bhoja Rāja, Śrī, 123
Bhoj, 31, 34
Bhrigu Saṁhitā, 13
Bhritya Āndhras, 18, 19
Bhritya Chashṭanas, 18, 19, 61, 69
Bhūmaka, 26, 62, 100
Bhūpatis, 86
Bhūtabali, 65
Bigandet, the Rev., 60
Bijayagarh, 77
Bikramajit, 40, 123
Biloda, 35
Black Mt., 6
Bolan Pass, 10
Brahmagupta, 21, 42, 48, 59
Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa, 14, 15
Brahma-Sphuṭa-Siddhānta, 21, 48
Brihajjātaka, 42, 55, 57
Brihaddeśī, 24
Bṛihat-Saṁhitā, 15, 44, 47
Brown, Norman, 54
Buddha, 78, 95
Budhi, a Śaka, 36

C

Caka, see Śaka, 36
Chakrapāṇi, 18, 20
Cakṣu, see Vakṣu, or Ikṣu or the Oxus river, 6
Candrapāla 87, 88
Caspain Sea, 7, 4
same as Kshīroda Sāgara
Caṭhana, Pkt. of Chashṭana, 72
Cental Asia, 110
Chaṭhanasa, 69
Chaitya, 73, 101
Chakraborthy, S.K., 100
Chakansur, 10
Chakshu, 7
Chakshuvardhana, 6
Chālukyas, western, 43
Chanda, 36
Chandragupta Maurya, 77
Chandragupta Vikrama, 20, 21-23
Chandravalli, 36
Charaka, 20
Chashṭana, 11, 30-34, 57, 59, 61-64, 69, 70, 71, 74, 81, 89, 101, 112
Chīna, 13, 16, 21
Chikkhalapadra-grāma, 64, 124
Chhatrapa, 92
Chhatrapati, 92
Chhahara, 94
Chhatrava, 92
Chaharata, 61
Chaturbhāṇi, 74
Caucasus Mts., 4
Cimmerian Bosphorus, 4
Cunningham, 9, 27, 58

D

Dadhi, a sea, 7
Dahae, 4, 7
Dainiyak, (Iranian) 67
Daivaputra, 37
Dakshiṇāpatha, 77
Dakshamitrā, wife of Ushavadāta, 25, 26, 67
Dalhaṇa, 20
Dāma, 74
Dāmachika Vudhika, a Śaka, 26
Dāmaghsada (Dāmajadaśrī I) sama as Dāmaysada, 32, 38, 78-80, 101
Dāmajadaśrī II, 82, 83, 102,
Dāmajadaśrī III, 84, 103
Dāmasena, 82-84, 102,
Dāmijada or Nāmijāda, 27, 37, 94
Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa, 19
Dāṇḍekar, R.N., 20
Danube or Ister, 4
Danubian Belt, 110
Darius or Dārayavahush, 1
Darada, 7, 13
Daśapura, 26, 68
Daulatpur 34, 83
Dayānanda Sarasvatī, 123
Dayushe, same as Duryodhana, 2
Deccan, 11
De, Nundo Lal, 5
Deb, Harit K., 27
Deoras, V.R., 58, 61, 62, 64, 67
Devapāladeva, 87
Devi-Chandragupta, a drama, 20, 21, 49, 88
Dhamma-rakhita, 78

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Dharma-saṁvat, 69
Dhanadeva, 30
Dharmapāla, 70
Dhruvadevī, 20,21
Dinika, 67, 125
Diodorus of Sicily, 2, 4
Dionysius Periegetae, 10
Diskalkar, D.B., 34,
Diva, 120
Dramila, 16
Drāviḍa, 13
Dubreuil, 58
Duḥśalā, sister of Duryodhana, 2
Durga,-śaila, 6
Duryodhana, see Dayushe 2, 8
Dvārakā, 81
Dvivedi, H. Sudhākara, 44
Dynyk (Persian), 67

E

East Malwa, 76
Edgerton, F., 124
Egypt, 1, 9
El-Burz, 6
Eraṇ, 34
Erikina (Eraṇ), 34
Erythrean sea, (Indian Ocean) 10, 136
Eucratide, 94
Eustathius, 10

F

Fan-tau Mt,, 7
Fleet, J.F., 27, 60

G

Gaḍha inscr, 33, 61, 79, 81, 135
Gaṁjavara, 29, 97
Gaṇaka Tarāṅgiṇi, 20, 42
Gaṇapāṭha, of Pāṇini, 16, 19
Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, 22
Gāndhāras, 21
Gandharba, 60, 124
Gaṇeshrā Mound, 29
Gañges, 9
Gardabhilla, 11, 15, 53, 60, 64, 124
Gārgī-saṁhitā, 17, 64, 111
Garuḍas, 7
Gateshu, 50
Gautamīputra, 75, 101, 114
Georgi, 8
Gatae, the great, 2, 5
Getes, 3
Ghaṭāka, a Kshaharāta, 29
Ghsada, 73, 78
Ghsamotika. see Ysamotika, 71, 78
Ghumli, 37
Girdharapura-Jītalā. 29, 131
Girinagar, 32
Girnara, see Junagarh, 74-77
Golaktophagai, 5
Goṇḍala 35, 90, 137
Gotamiputa Siri Sātakaṇi, 26, 65, 69
Goths, 3
Govardhana-Vāṭha, 68, 113, 124
Gopalachari K, 36
Govinda IV, 87, 88
Govindapāla, 124
Grahaganita, 41, 46
Greek, 3-5, 8, 9, 63, 78, 83, 99 110
Guhavihāra, 95
Gujarat, 76, 93
Gunḍā, inscr. 31, 35, 79, 80, 134
Guptas (or Siṁhas) 64, 66, 86
Gupte, Y.R., 61

H

Hagāmash, 66, 94, 108
Hagāna, 66,94, 108
Haidarābād, 9
Haihayas, 14
Hamadan, 1
Hana, 95
Hara-Gaurī-Saṁvāda, 24, 48, 49
Harihivakaṁda, 35
Harisheṇa 25, 77
Harivaṁśa Purāṇa, 14, 19
Hari-vikrama, 23, 24
Harsha, 22
Harshacharita, 21
Harshavardhana. 71
Harsh-Vikrama, 17
Hāṭaki-nadī, 7
Hayūra, 95
Hermitage Museum, 110
Hemacandra, 117
Hemādri, 20
Herodotus, 1, 4, 8
Hiraṇvati, 7
Hiuen Tsiang (Huant-sang), 5, 76,

I

Ikshavāku, 115
Ikshu, a river, 6
Imaus Mt. 6
Indika, 9
Indo-scythia, 9, 10
Indo-Scythians, 9, 93, 95
Indus, 2, 9-11
Intwa, 33,81
Iranian, 64
Isidor, 33, 81
Ister, 4
Īśvaradatta, 82-84, 103,
Īśvaradeva, an Ābhīra, 34, 83, 90
Īsvarasena, an Ābhīra, 26, 83 113

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J

Jabalpur, 11, 26, 63
Jacobi, H., 17
Jada, 78
Jaika, 37
Jalada, 5,
Jalandhara, 5
Jamalpur, 29,
Jamindara, Rasesh, 32
Jamuna, 95
Janapāla, same as Nahapāna, 64
Jasdan Lake, 33
Jats, 2, 3
Jaxartes, 6
Jayadāman, 30-33, 72, 73, 101
Jayāditya, 50
Jayadratha, king of Sind, 2
Jayanandaka, 79
Jayantaka, 74
Jayaswal, K.P.. 17, 22, 54, 59, 63, 64, 72
Jayasiṁhasūri, 23
Jetas, 3
Jinadeva, 65
Jits, 3
Jīvadāman, 78-81, 89, 102, 113
Jogalthembi, 65, 66
Johyābāra, 77
Jotes, 3
Junāgarh, 31-33, 36, 79, 91, 135
Junar-cave-inscription, 25, 36, 64, 68, 127
Jyotirvidābharaṇa, 19, 20, 40
Jyotisha Darpaṇa, 122

K

Kabul, 9
Kachchha, 77
Kadamba, 35
Kālaka, 11, 23, 53, 54, 60, 62
Kālakāchārya, 23, 52, 54
Kālakasūri-charita, 23
Kalhaṇa, 22, 88, 111
Kalī, 88
Kālidāsa, 17, 29, 40, 87, 88
Kalui, 96
Kaliñgas, 15
Kalpadrukosha, 20
Kaliyuga, 42, 46, 48
Kambojas, 8, 12-14, 21, 22
Kānākhera, 32, 34, 89, 114
Kanga, F.M., 6
Kanherī Lane, inscr, 32, 69
Kanishka, 45, 52, 71, 77
Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, 28, 29, 96, 129
Kāntārātīta, 50
Kāṇva-Yaju-Bhāshya, 41
Kapila, a Śaka writer, 37
Kapiśa, 116
Kapiśa-Gandhāra, 27
Kara-kul lake, 7
Kardama, a bhūpati, 70,; a village, 70
Kardamaka, 32, 69, 70
Kardama-rāja, a title, 70
Kardama, a river, 70
Kardama, a sage, 70
Karle-cave-inscriptions, 25, 26
Karma-sachivas, 75, 114, 126
Karṇasāra, 56
Kārshāpaṇa, 99, 100, 112
Kartai, 61
Karur, 45
Kasadeśa or Kutch, 32
Kashmiris, 111
Kāśikā, 16
Kāśyapa-saṁhitā, 15
Kathiawad, 27, 33, 36, 76
Kathika year, 35, 91
Kātyāyana, 16
Kātyāyana-smārta-mantrārtha-Dīpikā, 41
Kaukos Mt., 6
Kauśiki Pākshakā, 29
Kaulutas, 21
Kāvyānuśāsana, 23
Keith A.B., 55
Kerala, 22
Khaharāta, 61, 62
Khāhirāta, 62
Khakharata, 61, 62, 65, 66
Khaṇḍa-khādyaka, 42, 46
Kharadaka or Kharaosta, 28
Kharaosta, 28, 61, 95-98, 109
Kharata, 62
Khasha, 13, 21
Khāvada, 30
Khorasmai, 6
Kive, Sardar, M.V., 38
Kin-che-lo. 76
Kipin, 27
Kiratas, 2, 13, 21
Kin-me-to, 5
Komedai, 5
Komedorum Montes, 5
Komoroi, 5
Konow, S., 23, 25, 26, 37, 52-54, 59, 62, 63
Kori, 9
Krita saṁvat, 60
Kshahara, 30
Kshaharātas, chhaharata or chaharada, or khaharata or khakharata, 25, 26, 30, 60-63, 66, 69, 71
Kshīrasvāmi, 87
Kshiroda Sāgara, 7
Kukura, 15, 76
Kumāra, a mahākshatrapa, 37
Kumārapāla-charita, 23
Kumuda, 5
Kuṇāla, 65
Kurus, 13
Kushāṇas, 13, 28, 72, 77, 94

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Kusulla Padika, 94
Kusulaka Patika, 28, 94
Kusumoda, 6
Kutch, 31, 34
Kulaipa, 78

L

Laghaman, 117
Lakshaṇāvali, 47
Lakshmī, 95
Lampāka, 7, 117
Lalla, 41
Lavaṇa, a sea, 8
Levi, S. 62, 63
Liaka Kusulaka, 61, 93, 94
Longhurst, 36
Loni, a castle, 45
Luders, 29, 81

M

Madhyadeśa, 27
Madhyamas, 15
Mādhvīka, 16, 116
Maeotis, 4
Magadha, 5, 15, 21
Magas, 8
Mahābhārata, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13-15, 17, 76
Mahābhāshya, 16, 52, 123
Mahadatta, 57
Mahārāja-kshatrapa, 91
Mahāvaṁśa, 78
Mahāvīra, 17, 18, 53
Mahendragupta, 86
Maheśvara, 76
Maira well, 93
Maja, 96
Majmal-ut-Twarikh, 2, 13, 20, 49
Majumdar, N.G. 33
Majumdar, R.C., 72
Majumdar, S.N. 5
Makhategoi, 5
Makkibhaṭṭa, 47
Malayaketu, 118
Malayas, 6, 67
Malla Linkara, 60
Mālwā, 27, 33, 123
Mambarus, 10
Mānasa, 8
Mandaga, 5, 8
Manmatha saṁvatsara 40
Manḍodaka, Median sea, 8
Manusmriti, 13
Manjuśrī-mūla-kalpa, 15, 22, 86, 117
Mardyeni, 6
Marco Polo, 7
Margiana, 5, 8
Margine, 5
Mārkaṇḍa, 6
Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 27
Marshall, J., 33
Marukachchha, 76
Masaka, 5, 8
Massagatae, 2, 5, 8
Mātañga-muni, 24
Mathura, 11, 27, 30, 61, 77, 93-95, 97, 98, 100, 114; Lion-capital inscr 88, 129
Mati-sachivas, 75, 114
Mātrigupta, 17
Matsya Purāṇa, 3, 5, 7, 8, 14, 15, 19
Maudādi, 6
Maues, 27, 93-95, 99, 105
Mayūradatta, 83
Mayuraśarman, 36, 86, 88
McCrindle, 5, 6,
Mauryas, 77
Medes, 1-3
Median sea, 8
Mediteranean, 3
Menander, 99
Meridorkh, 113
Meru, 5, 6
Mevāsā, 34, 86
Mirzapur, 38
Mitāksharā, 50
Min or Minnagar, 10
Mitradevaṇaka, 26, 67
Mlecchas, 13, 14
Moa, 93
Moda, a Śaka, 36
Moga, 93
Mohenjo-Daro, 3
Monastery, Buddhist, 81
Mongolian, 3
Mora-well, 29, 96
Morgenstiene, 62
Moustache, 80
Mrichchhakaṭika, 122
Mṛgas or Margiana, 5, 8
Mudrārākshasa, 21
Mukunda-Vriddhavādi, 54
Mūlarāja, 23
Multan, 45, 76, 77
Mulvāsara, 32, 81, 135
Mūlavasu, 29, 97
Muniśvara, Śrī, 43
Muruṇḍas, 37
Munshi, K.M., 23
Mustag Mt., 6

N

Nadasi Kasa. 95, 96
Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, 11, 36
Nagar, 34
Nagendra āhāra, 34
Nahaū, 64
Nahapāna, 18, 57-63, 69, 71, 72, 78, 100, 101, 111, 114, 125, same as Nahavāna, 65, 63; Naravāhan etc, 60, 63, 65
Nakhakuṭṭa, 17
Nambanus, 10

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Nāmijada, 37, 94
Nanda, a Śaka, 34
Nārasiṃhapāla, 124
Nārāyaṇasvāmi, 34
Narmadā, 15
Nasik-cave-inscriptions, 25, 26, 77, 83, 113
Nāṭaka-Lakshaṇa-Ratna-Kosha 17
Nāṭya-Śāstra, 16, 17, 114
Naksh-i-Rustum, 1
Nauluda, 96
Nerur, copper plate, 70
Nīlakaṇṭha, 58
Nimar, 76
Nirankol, 9
Nirvāhāna, 63, 64
Niryukti, 64
Niśada, 77
Nivrita, 76
Nripati, 91
Nyāya-kandalī 42

O

Ojha, G.H., 43, 72
Oxos, 6
Oxus, 6,7
Ozene or Ujjain, 73

P

Pāda Liptaka, 54
Pādatāḍitaka. 18, 74, 83
Padamaprābhritakam, 122
Padmāvati 65
Pahlavas, 2, 7, 13, 14, 16, 26, 61, 65, 112
Paithan or Paithāna, 65, 73
Pakhto, 62
Palāṇḍu, 18
Pallavas, 36
Palus Maeotis, sea of Azof, 4
Pañchasiddhāntikā, 44
Paṇa, protector, 64
Pāṇini, 16, 19
Pāradas, 7, 13, 14
Parāśara-saṁhitā, 15
Pārasīka, 21
Fargiter, F.E., 14, 15, 71
Parikh, R.L., 23
Pariśishṭa-parvan, 17
Pārśvanātha-charita, 42
Pārthians, 10, 66
Pashto, 62
Patalene, 9, 10
Pātalapur, 9
Patañjali, 16
Patanvav, 38, 142
Patasila, 9
Patika, 30, 61, 94
Pattala, 9, 10
Paumachariya, 17
Pauṇḍraka, 13
Pauni, 37
Paurava, 12
Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, 10
Persepolis, 1
Persian, 2, 7, 11
Peterson, 8, 23
Pind Dadan Khan, 124
Pi (si) giri, 36
Pitti, 9
Prabhāchandra, 23
Prabhāsa, 68, 118
Prabhāvaka-charita, 23, 70
Prabhudāmā, a mahādevī, 81
Praṇaya, 75
Prasiaka, 9
Pratāpāditya, 22, 88
Pratijñā, Chāṇakya, 118
Prithūdakasvāmi, 46
Prithvīsena, 82, 102, 112
Prome, 60
Proto-Australoid, 3
Ptolemy, 5, 6, 9, 11, 61, 72
Purāṇas, 3, 5, 13, 15, 19, 61, 64, 71, 76, 86, 111
Purl, B.N., 58
Pushyagupta, 77
Pyjamas, 116

R

Rada, (Avestan), 62
Rāhulaka, 17
Raghupāla. 124
Rājan, 64, 73, 80
Rājaputānā, 75
Rājaśekhara, 20
Rājatarañgiṇi, 22, 88, 111
Rājuvula. 28, 30, 66, 95, 97, 98, 108
Rāmacharita, 21, 87
Rāmagupta, 21, 88
Rāma, 23
Rāmāyaṇa, 7, 12, 13, 17
Rao, M. Raja, 60
Rapson, E.J., 25, 44, 45, 52, 54, 58, 61, 62, 71, 73, 81, 83, 89
Rasātala, 7
Rāshṭrakūṭas, 43
Ratnapāla, 37
Raumaka, see Romaka, 124
Rāwal, 20
Raychaudhuri, H., 27, 51, 63, 70, 75
Ray, H.C., 37, 118
Rha or the Volga, 6
Rishika, 12
Ritter, 9
Romaka, 19, 20, 124
Roman, 65
Rome, 124,
Ṛisabhadatta (Ushavadāta), 66, 67
Rudra, a poet, 70
Rudra, a king, 36

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Rudra, an author, 70
Rudrabhūti, 31, 80
Rudradāman I, 30, 31, 33, 35, 69, 74, 79, 81, 88, 90, 101, 114
Rudradāmaśrī, 37, 38
Rudradharā-Bhaṭṭārikā, 115
Rudrasena I, 32, 33, 61, 79, 81 82, 102, 112
Rudrasena II, 20, 21, 84, 85, 103
Rudrasena III, 35, 90, 104,
Rudrasena IV, 35, 90, 91, 104
Rudrasimha I, 31, 33, 36, 78, 79, 81, 82, 102, 112, 113
Rudrasimha II, 89, 104,
Rudrasimha, III, 91, 105,
Ruma, 19, 20
Rumma-deśa, 19
Rupiamma, 37

S

Śabara, 15, 16
Sābaramati, 76
Sabhā-parva, 2, 124
Sacaea, 119
Sachau, E.C., 56
Sacwant, 122
Sadūkti-karṇāmṛta, 22, 87
Saffron, 7
Sagara, 13, 14, 118
Sāgaranandin, 17
Sagastan, 11,
Sāgavāna, 3
Sahaja-Rāma, 23,
Shāhānushāhi, 87, 88
Sāhasāṅka vikrama, 54, 87, 88
Sahāyapāla. 124
Sāhi or Shāhi, 87
Saindhava, 37, 138
Saistan, 11
Śaiva, 74, 118
Śaivities, 119
Sajastan, 11
Śaka, 7, 29, 37, 40; a bird, 37
Śakachella, 23
Śakāditya, 24, 48
Śakadvīpa, 3, 5, 7, 8, 115, 123
Śakagiri, 36
Ṣakahushu, 123
Śakahvartham, 123
Śaka-muruṇḍas 37
Śakandhu, 16
Śake coinage, 99 ff
Śakas at Indore, 38
Śakas at Nagpur, 38
Ṣakārāti, 87
Śakripu, 87
Śakāri Vikrama. 22, 86, 88, 91
Śākambharī lake, 20
Śakāntaka, 87
Śaka soldiers, 2, 114
Śaka songs, 24
Śaka writer, 76
Śakasena, 114
Śakasthāna, 4, 10, 11, 27
Śakasthānas, 36
Śakavarman, 23
Śakavṛdhi, 23
Śaka-Yavana, 16
Śakesar, 124
Śakeśvara, 19
Sakya, 117
Śākyamuni, 118
Salateroi, 5
Śālivāhana, 19, 40, 123
Sāmapāla, 124
Samarkand, 6
Sañga, 113
Sāmi, svāmi, 25, 33
Sāmba, 123
Sambodhi, 32
Samuddhara, see Thamugdhara, 60
Samudragupta, 23, 24, 37, 62, 77, 86, 88, 90
Samudrapāla, 124
Sanchi, 33
Śaṇḍasa, 97,
Saṅghdāman, 82, 102, 112
Śankarārya, 21
Saptaśati, 43
Sarasvati, a journal, 65
Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇa, 19, 50 52, 123
Sārvabhaumanarendrapura, 86
Sarvāstivāda, 95
Sastana, 72
Śāstra, 117
Śāstrī, H.P. 72
Śāstrī M.S, 5
Śatānanda, 42
Sātavāhanas, 14, 61, 63, 65, 77 80, 114
Sati, 111, 119
Śatrumsaha, 30, 91
Satyadāman, 79-81, 102, 112
Satyanāga, 34
Satyārtha-prakāśa, 124
Satyasiṁha, 91
Sauvīra, 76
Sañghārāma, 119
Scott, the Rev. H.R., 59, 90
Shāhirāta, 62
Scythia or Scythians 4, 8, 36, 38
Seistan, 4
Sengupta, P.C., 46
Sesostris, 1
Shāhadur,inscr, 37, 94, 138
Shāhānushāhi, 11, 37, 62
Shahr (Persian), 62
Shirwan, 7
Siddhānta-Bhāskara, 57
Siddhānta-sārva-bhauma, 43

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Siddhānta-Śekhara, 42, 46, 47
Siddhānta-Śiromaṇī, 46, 55-57
Siddhasena Divākara, 54
Sidhapura, 70
Sijistan, 11
Siṁha (Gupta) Dynasty, 86
Siṁhasena, 35, 90, 104
Siṁha Vikrama, 23, 24, 86
Sind, 2, 3, 62
Sindh or Sindhu, 2, 7, 17, 19, 76
Sindhu Śakas, 9
Sindhu-Sauvīra, 77
Sinthus, same as Indus, 10
Sircar, D.C., 33, 50
Sītā, 6, 7
Śivadatta, 83, 94, 108, 112
Śivaghosha, 112
Skandapurāṇa, 122
Skandilāchāraya, 54
Skythia, 5
Smith, V.A., 58, 62
Śoḍāsa, 27, 29, 96, 97, 109, 114, 118
Somadeva Sūrī, 49
Somalpuram, 43
Śona, 15
Sontakke, N.S., 6
Sopārā, 77
Śorpāraga, 68
Spuhuji (Sphurji) dhvaja, 55
Spooner, 72
Śrī 29, 78
Śrīdhara, 65
Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa, 42
Śrīdhara-dāsa, 22
Śrīdhara-varman, 33, 34, 89, 112, 114
Śṛñgāraprakāśa, 87
Śrī-parvata, 11, 115
Śrīpati, 42, 46
Śrī-Siṁha-Vikrama, 23
Śrutāvatāra-kāthā, 65
Steppes, 4
Strabo, 4, 5
Strategos, 92, 113
Subāhu, 48
Subhāśitāvali, 23
Sudarśana, 31, 75, 77
Sud, H.L., 18, 69
Śūdraka Vikrama, 122
Sui Vihar, 27, 77
Sukumāra, 5
Śūlīkā, 16
Sumatitantra, 122
Sumerians, 111
Śuṇḍāsa or Śoḍāsa, 29
Śuñga, 17, 64
Suparṇas, 7
Suśruta, 20
Surāshṭra, 10, 17, 74, 76, 77, 86
Surya or Swāliyu, 119
Suviśākha, 78, 114
Śvabhra, 76
Svāmi or Sāmi, 25, 28, 64, 73, 79, 80, 89, 90, 97, 114
Śyāma-giri, 6
Syāmaka, 6
Śyāmilaka, 18, 74
Syrestiene, see Surāṣṭra, 10

T

Tālajañghas, 14
Tanais, a river, 4
Taxīla, 93,98.99, copper plate, 93, 94, 113
Teak, 3
Thamughdhara, 60
Thatha, 9
Thibaut, G.. 44
Thomas, F.W.. 27, 36
Thrace, 4
Tiastenes, 73
Tibetan, 86
Tilakamañjarī, 70
Tiloya Paṇṇatti, 18, 53, 59, 61, 64, 69, 71, 81
Tod, J., 3
Traikuṭakas, 66
Trailokya Sundarī, 70
Tribhuvana-giri, 70
Triraśmi-parvata, 26
Tsunghing Mt. 5
Tushāras, 7, 13, 52, 72
Tushāspha, 77,78

U

Udayana, 47
Ujjain or Ujjayini, 11, 19, 22, 53, 68, 73, 74, 76, 93
Ushavadāta or Usabhadāta, 25, 26, 61, 64, 66, 100, 112, 125
Utpala, 46
Uttamabhadras, 67
Uttarādhikāra, 41

V

Vādirāja Suri, 42
Vaḍnagara, 76
Vāgabhaṭṭa, 18
Vaidurya, 100
Vaiśāli (Basarh), 82
Vajra, 100
Vakshu, 7
Vālmīki, 7, 12
Valabhi era, 37
Vallabhadeva, 23
Vamśāvalis, 49, 85, 122
Vammideśa, 65
Vandha, 31
Vaṇijaka, 32
Varāhamihira, 15, 44, 47, 55, 117
Vardhamāna, 21
Vashaṭ, 14
Vasishṭha, 14

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Vāsishṭhiputra, 83
Vāsishṭhiputra Śrī Pulumāvi, 26, 61, 65, 114
Vāsishṭhiputa Sirī Sātakaṇi, 32
Vasu, 97
Vāsudeva, 35, 97
Vasuraka Ābhīra, 80
Vasundharā, 65
Vaṭeṣvara. 44, 47, 57
Vāyu purāṇa 5, 7. 8, 14, 15, 64, 71
Vidiśā, 76
Vijayasena. 84, 103, 112
Vikkaṭa, 37
Vikrama or Vikramāditya, 19, 21, 22, 40, 45, 48, 51, 53, 54, 59, 87
Vikrama era, 11, 40, 41, 46, 50, 51, 58
Vikramārka, 19
Vikrama Hari, 24
Vikrama Śrī Siṁha, 24
Vimalasūrī, 17
Vindhyaketu, 118
Vindhyas, 77
Vīra, 17
Vīradāman, 82, 84, 102, 112
Vīra-nirvāṇa era, 53
Vira-Purusadatta, 115
Virūpāksha, 43
Viśākhadatta, 20, 21
Viśākhadeva, 20
Vishṇudattā, 26
Vishṇu-purāṇa, 5, 6, 86
Vishṭi, 75
Viṣvasena, 85, 104
Viśvasiṁha, 85, 103, 104, 112
Viṭṭeśvara, 56
Vogel, J. Ph., 29
Volga, 6
Vrishṇī, 97
Vṛshalas, 13
Vyāghraparākrama, 86

W

Wakankar, V.S., 31
Wakhān, 117
Wardak, 27
Weber, A., 56, 57
Western Chālukyās, 43
West Malwa, 76
Whitehead, R.B., 97
Wilford, 48, 49, 85, 123
Wima Kadphises, 52, 58, 71
Winternitz, M., 17, 52

Y

Yādava. 76
Yājñavalkya, 50
Yallayārya, 122
Yaśas-Tilaka-Champu, 49
Yaudehya, 77
Yaśodāman, I, 83, 84, 89, 103
Yośodāman II, 104, 112
Yavanāchārya, 117
Yavana Jātaka, 55
Yavanas, 2, 8, 12-17, 21, 26, 55, 65, 115
Yona priest, 78
Ysada, 78
Yasm 62,
Ysamotika, 30, 31, 62, 69, 71, 72, 78
Yuga-purāṇa 17, 64
Yuga-pradhāna-Svarupa, 54
Yuvarāja, 97

Z

Zarfashan, 7
Zaratoi, 5
Zeus, 100, 107

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2. Printed Plates conform fully to the photographs.

3. Plate LIV, photograph of which has been received from the Curator, Kutch Museum, Bhuj, is stated by him to be of a Kshatrapa ruler.

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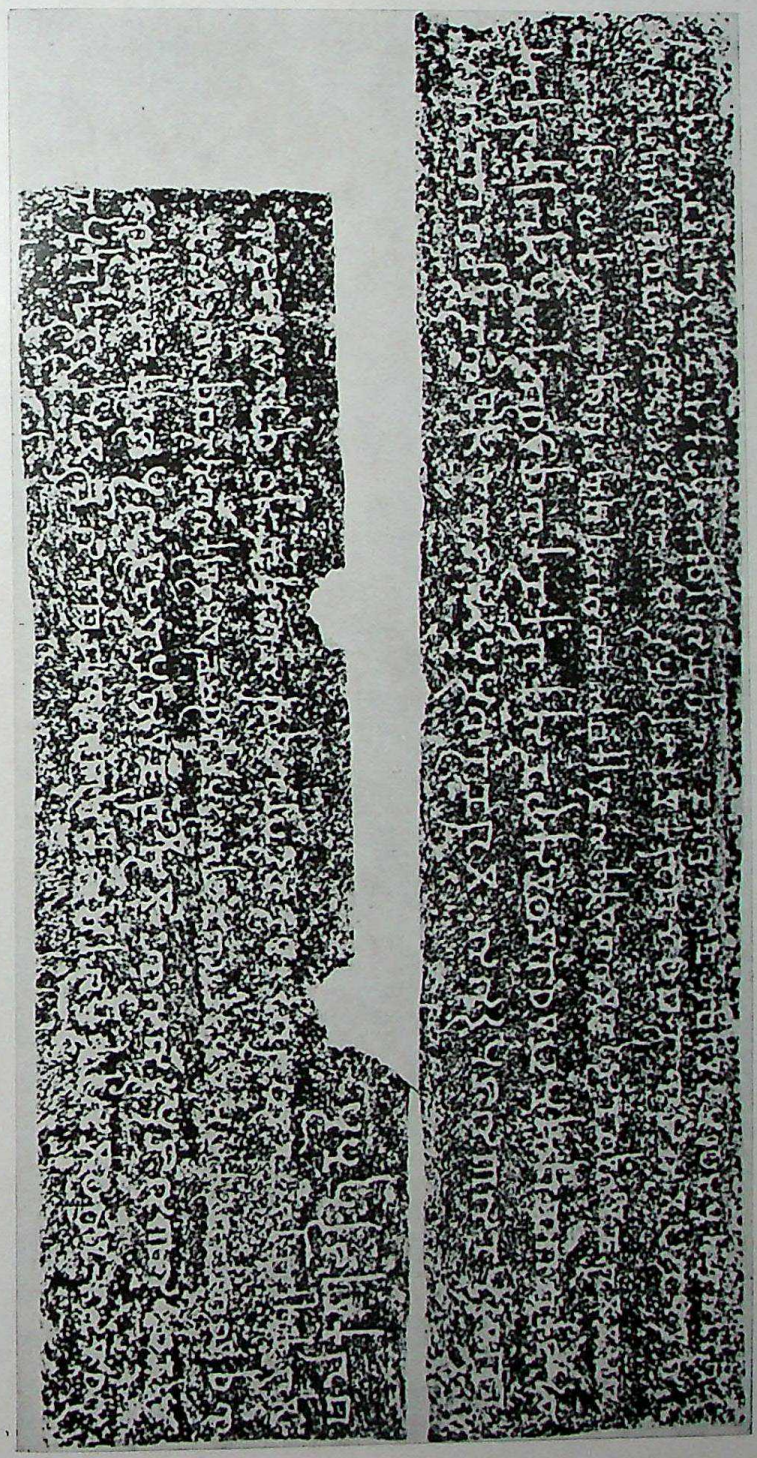
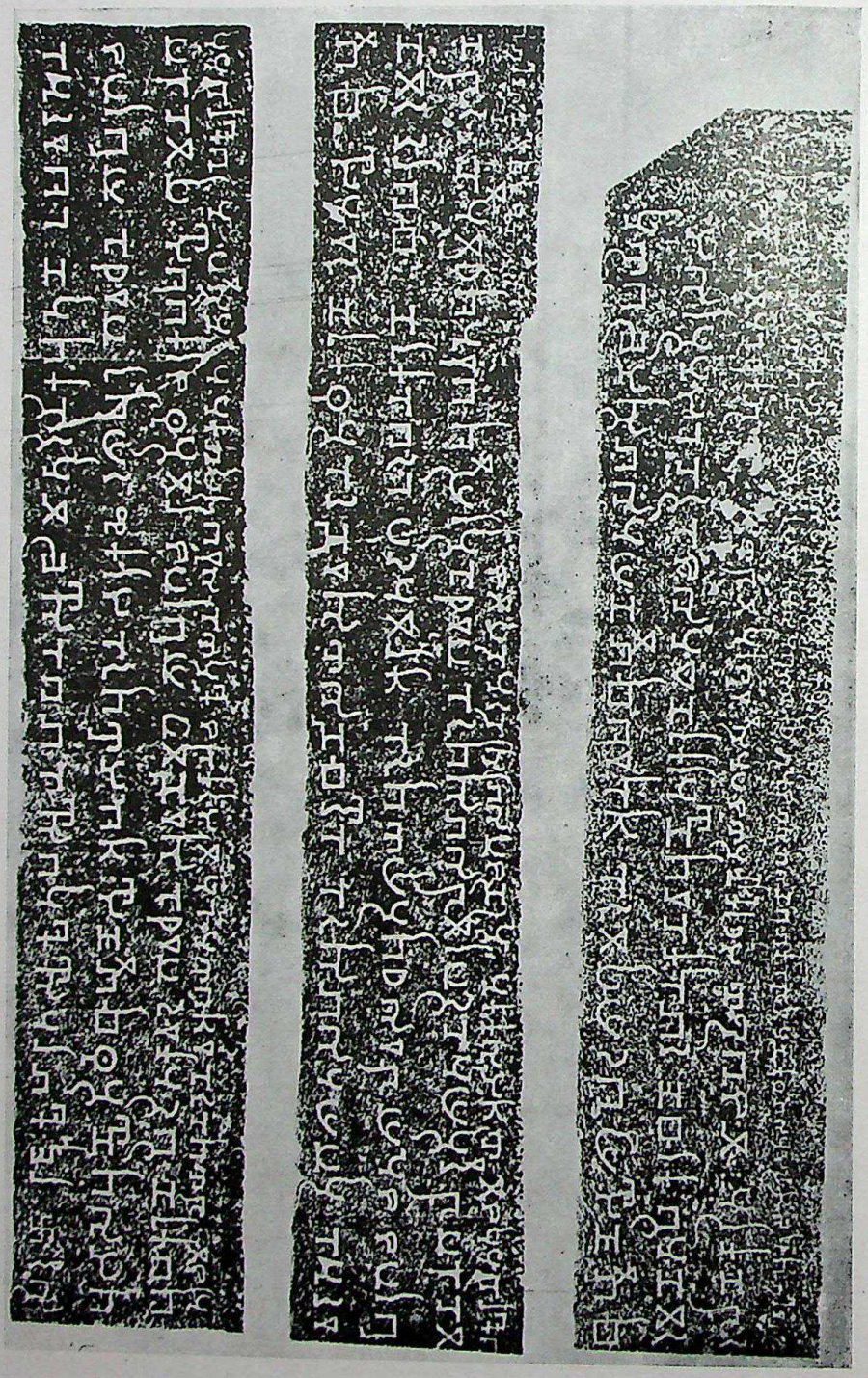


Nasik Cave Inscription (No. 12) of Ushavadāta

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE II



Nasik Cave Inscription (No. 10) of Ushavadāta

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(a) Nasik Cave Inscription (No. 11) of Ushavadāta

(b) Nasik Cave Inscription (No. 13) of Ushavadāta

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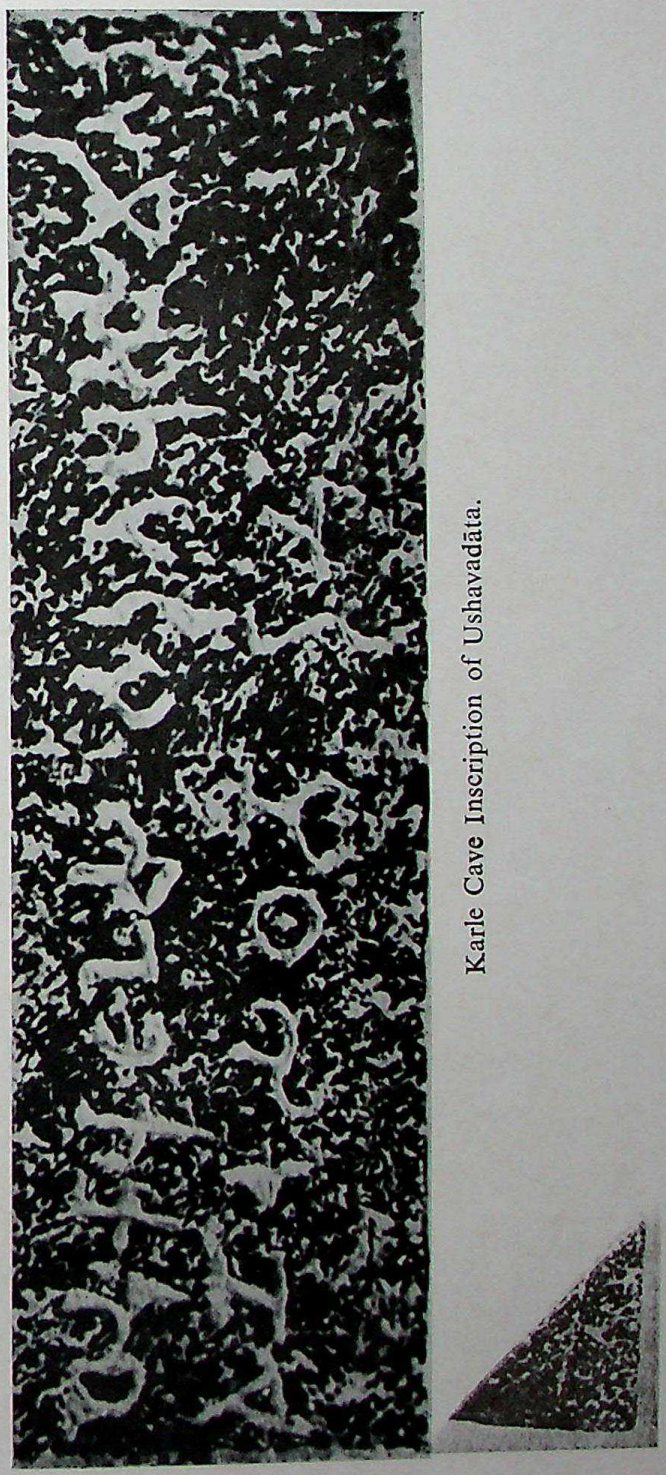
PLATE IV

Nasik Cave Inscription (No. 14a) of Ushavadāta

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Karle Cave Inscription of Ushavadāta.

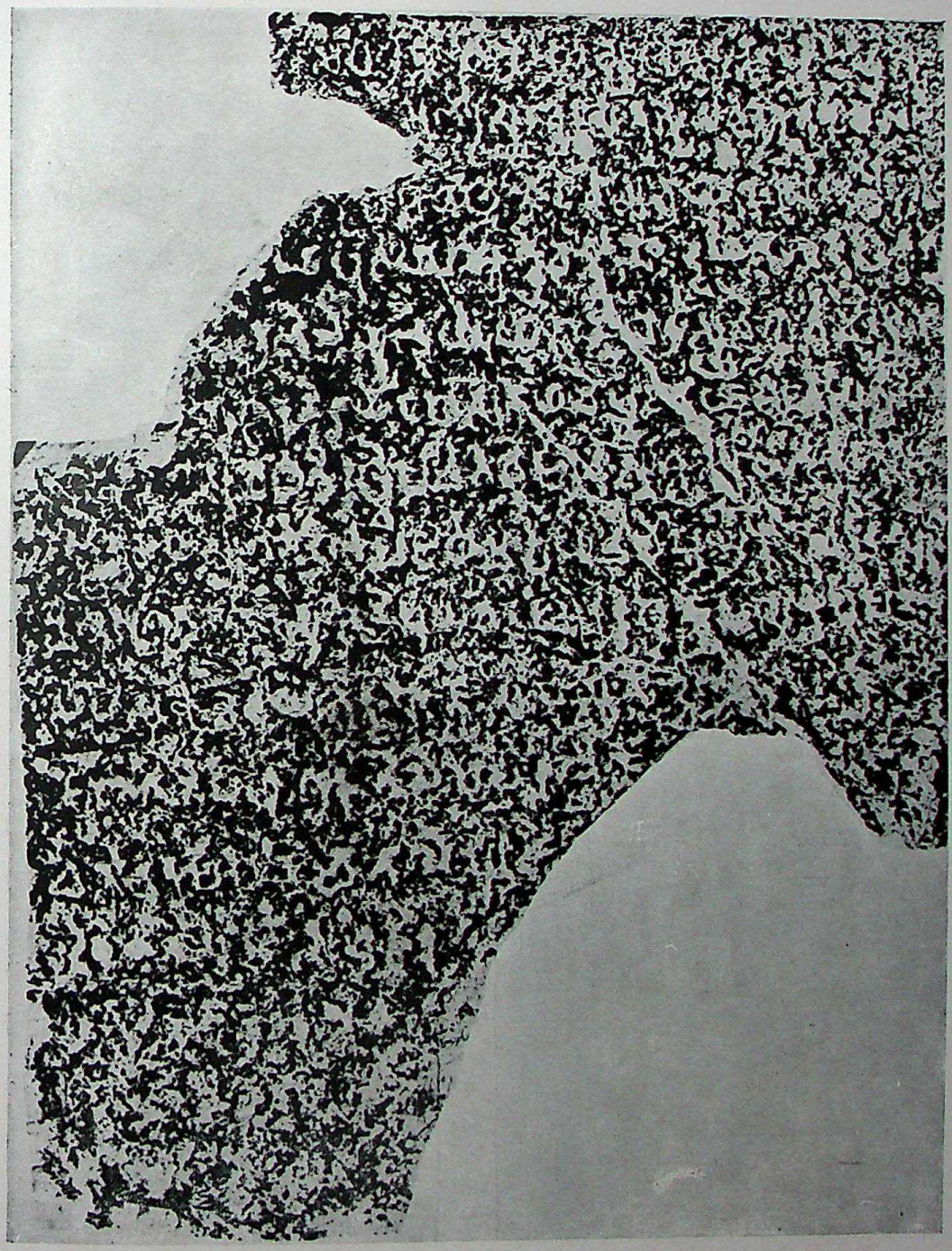
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE VI

(a) Karle Cave Inscription of Ushavadāta

(b) Junnar Cave Temple Inscription of Ayama

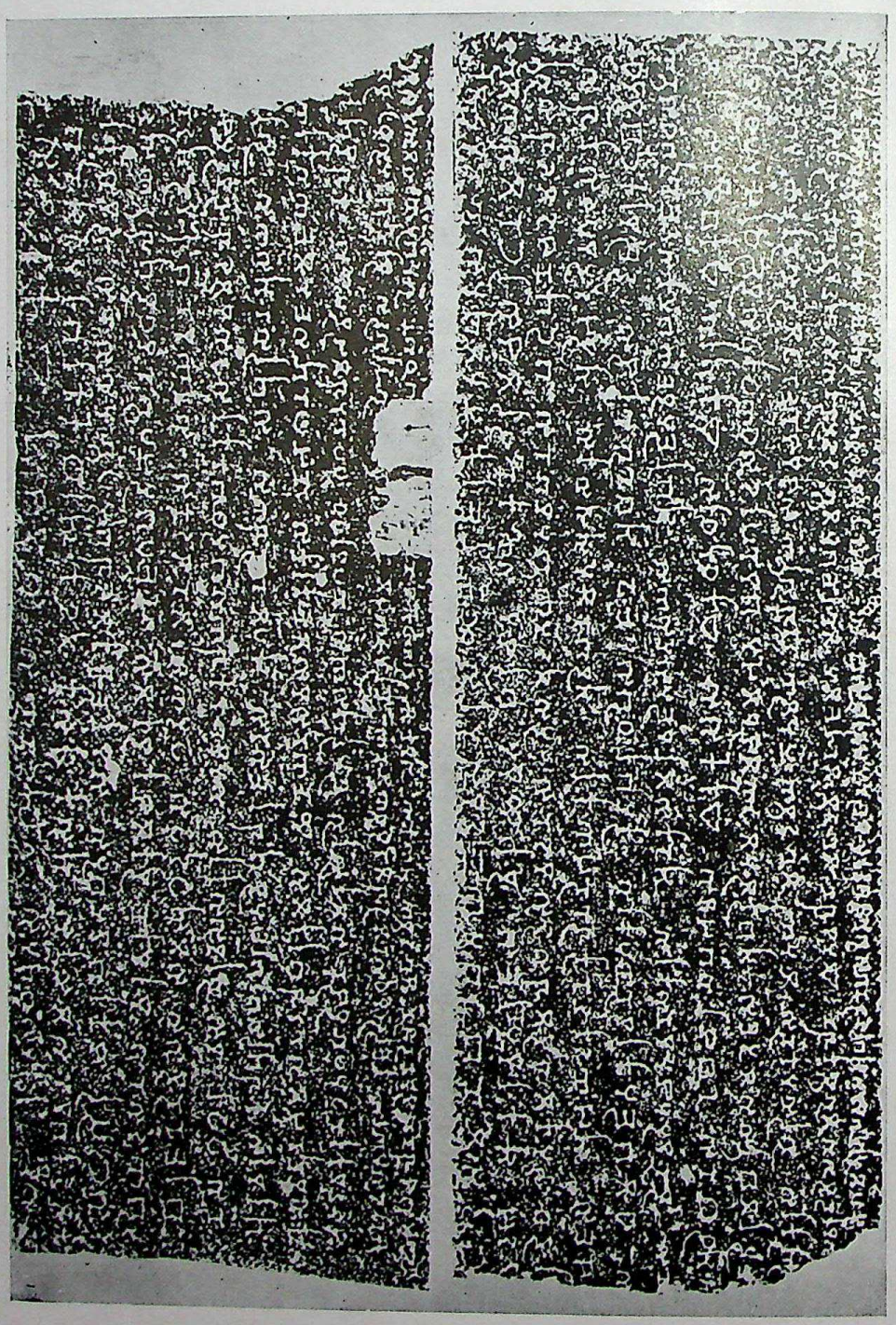
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Nasik Cave Inscription (No. 15) of Ābhira Īśvarasena

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE VIII



Nasik Cave Inscription (No. 2) of Vāsiṭhiputra Siri Pulumāvi

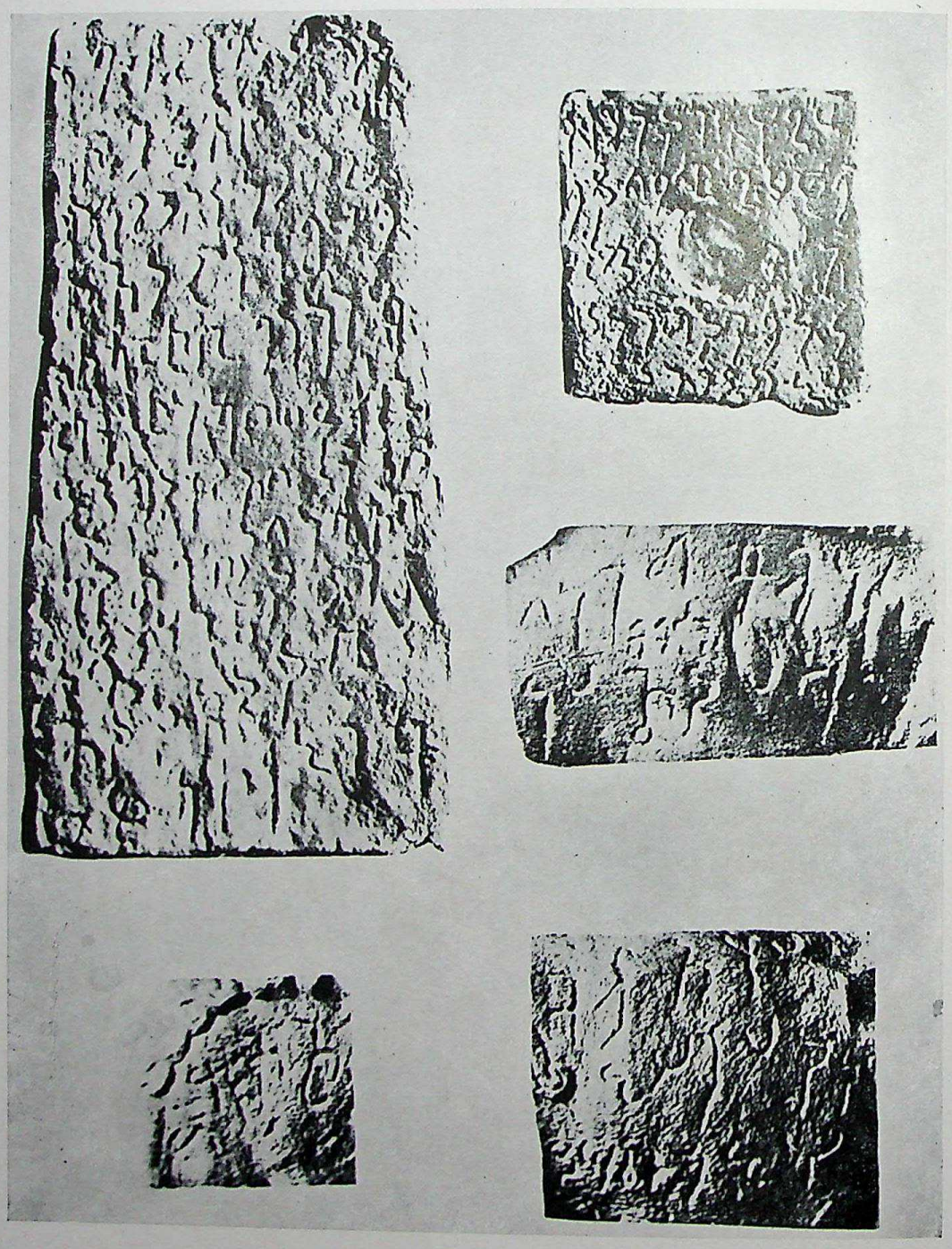
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(a) Nasik Cave Inscription of Śaka Dāmachika

(b) Nasik Cave Inscription of Śaka Dāmachika

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE X A



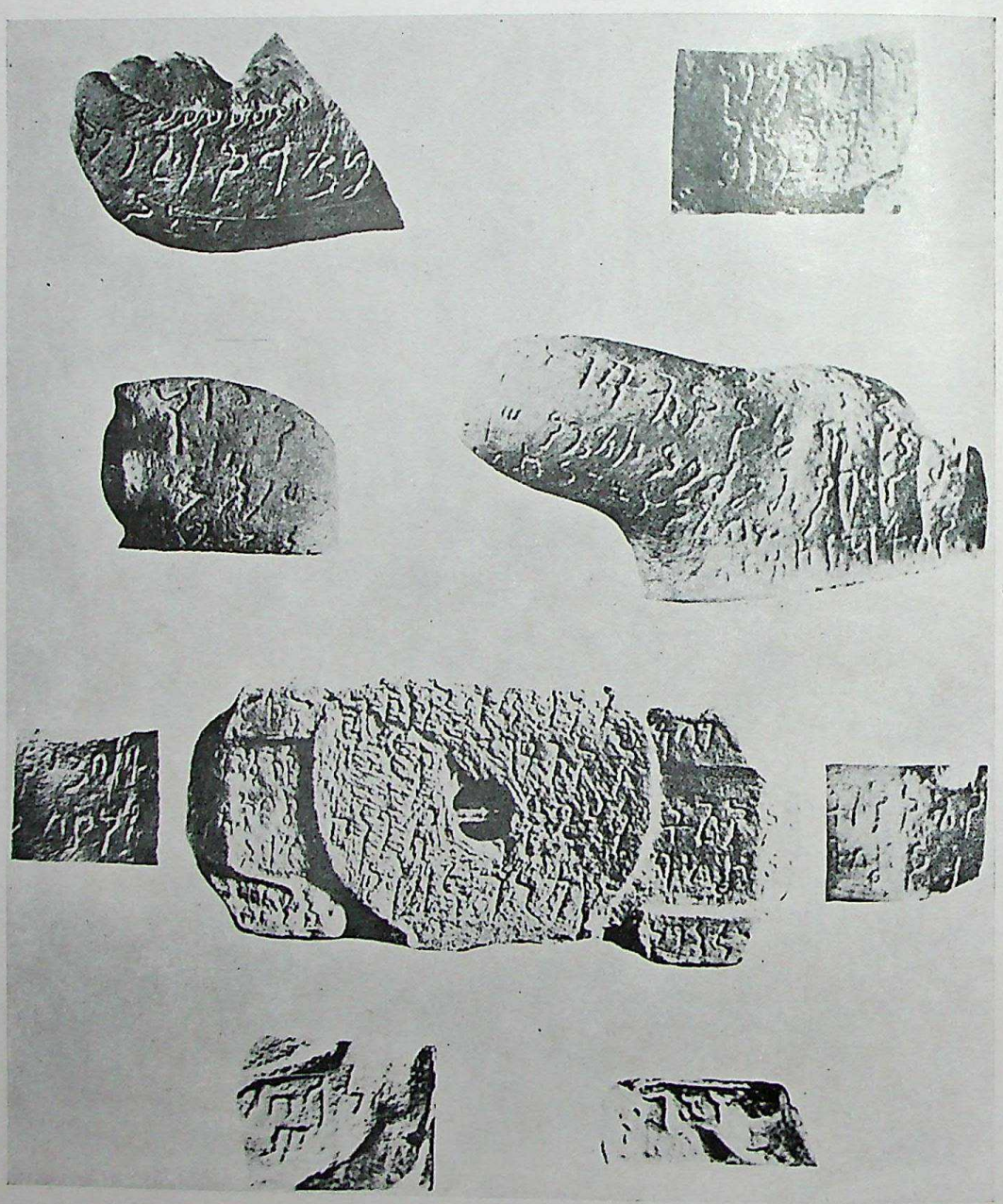
Mathura Lion Capital Inscription

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Mathura Lion Capital Inscription

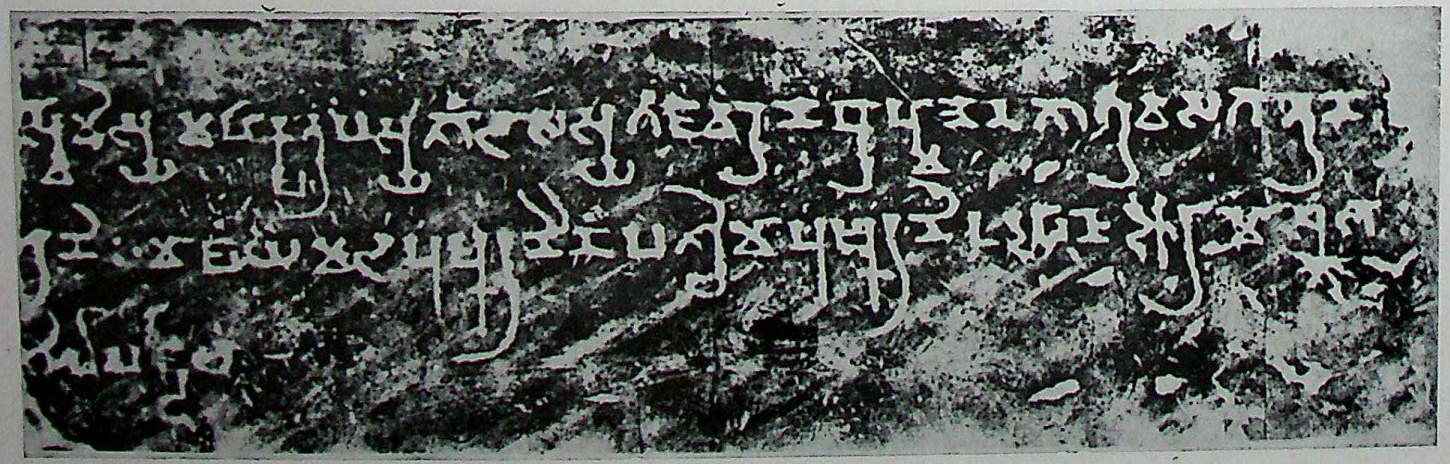
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE X C



Mathura Lion Capital Inscription

(a) Kaṅkāli Tīlā Votive Tablet



(b) Inscription of Śoḍāsa

PLATE XI

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CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XII

(a) Inscription of Śoḍāsa

(b) Inscription of a Śaka from Kaṅkāli Ṭilā

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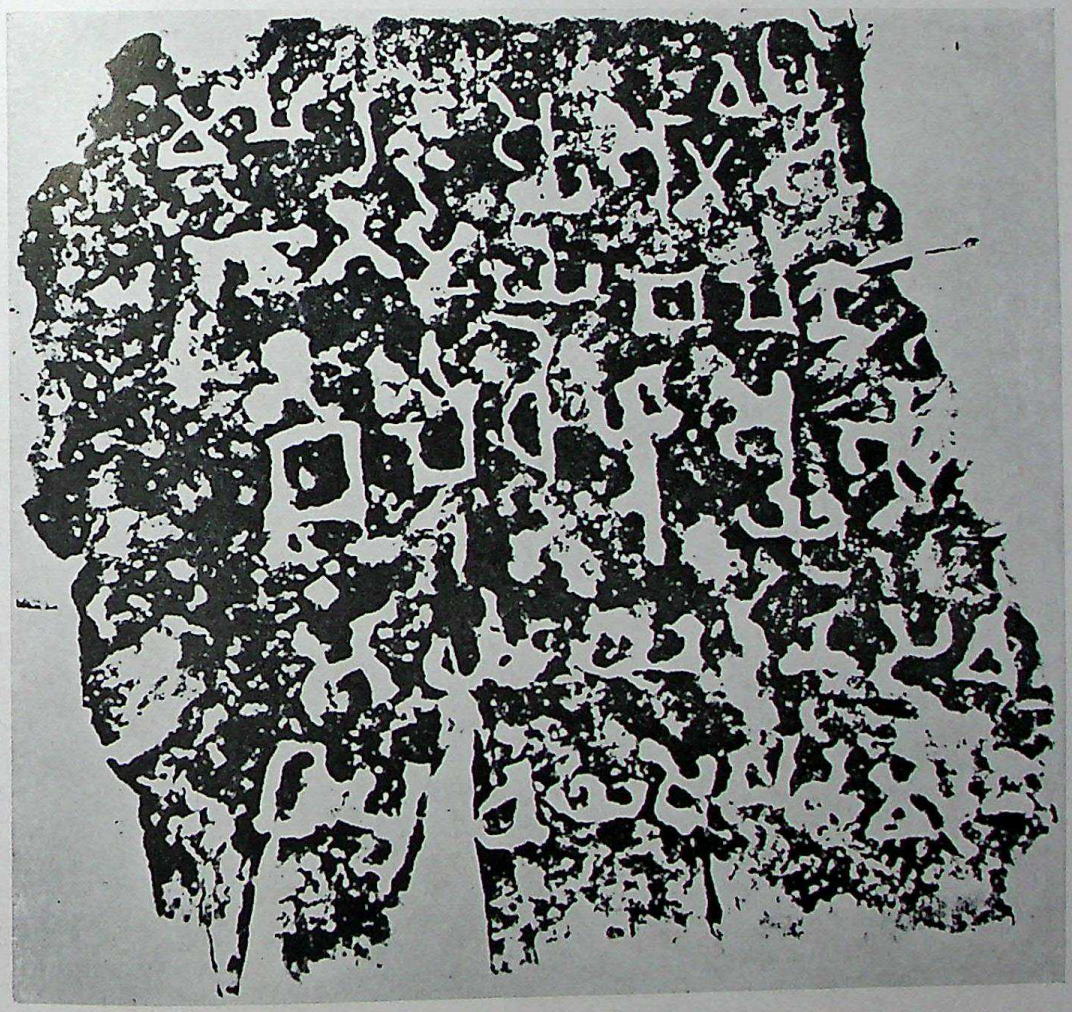
Mirjapur Inscription of Śoḍāsa

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XIV

A New Inscription of Śoḍāsa

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



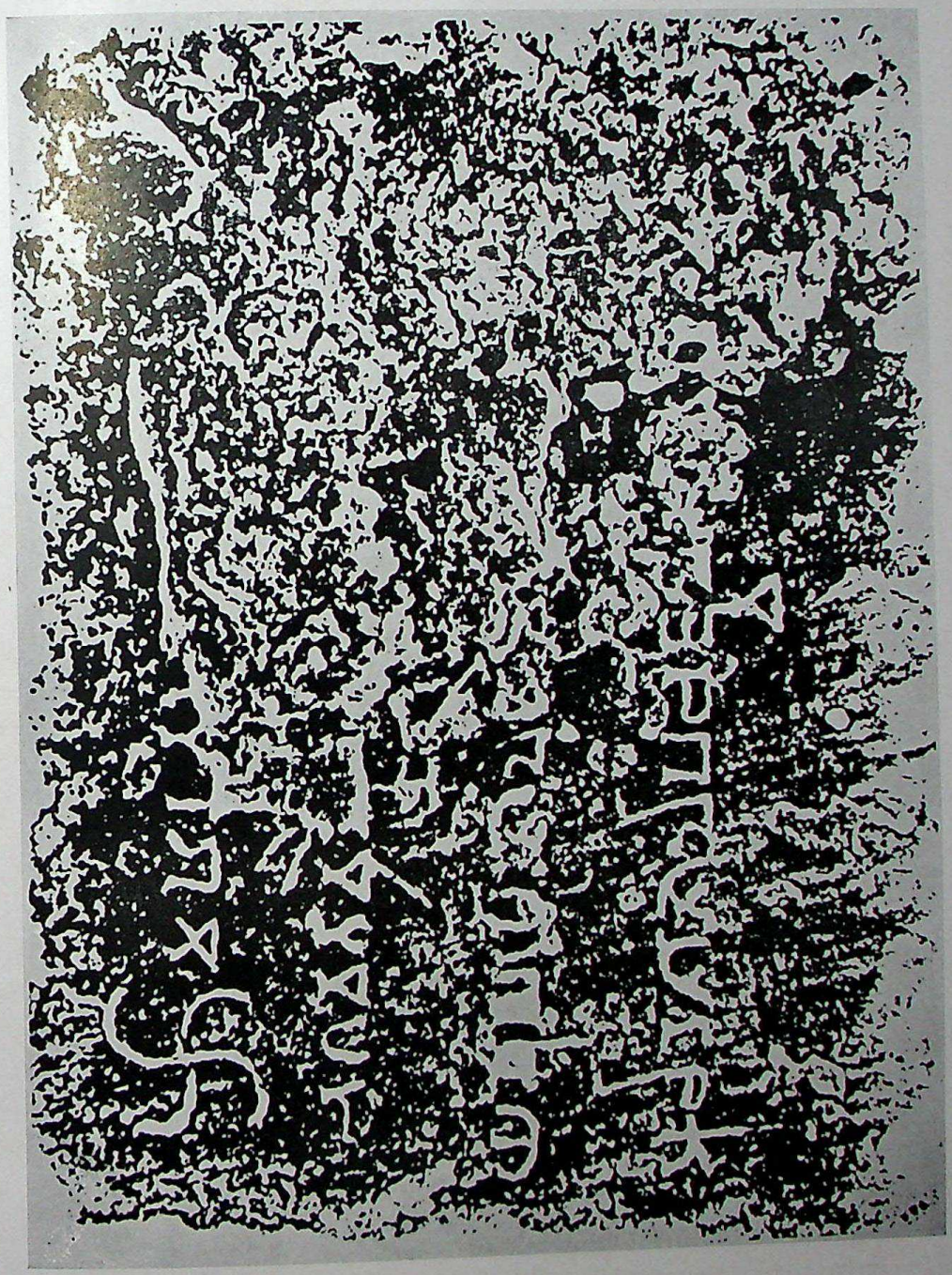
Giridharapur Jitla Inscription

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XVI

Mathura (Second Ganeshra Mound) Inscription of Kshaharāta Ghaṭāka

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Mathura Mora Well Inscription

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XVIII

Taxila Copper Plate Inscription

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

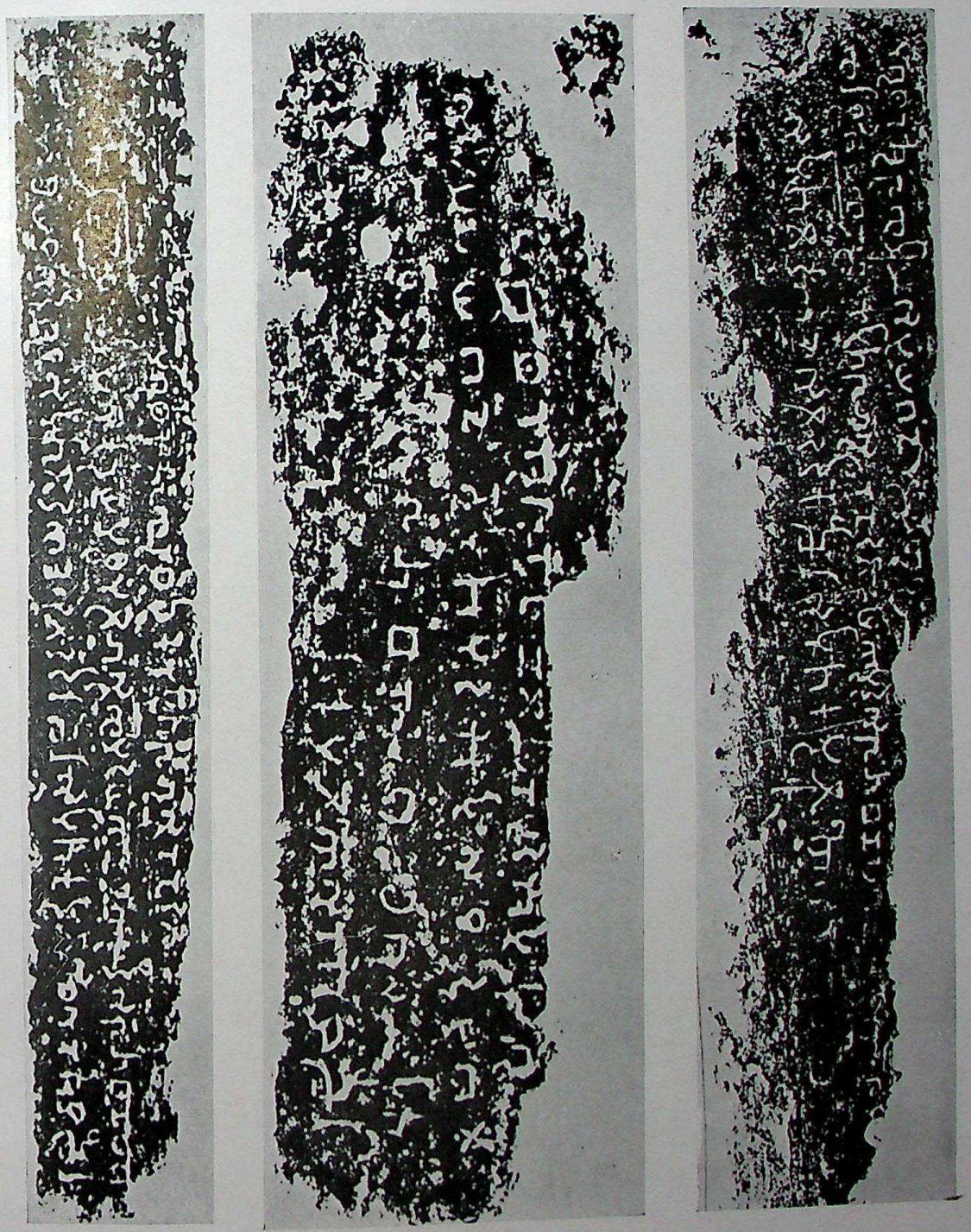
Andhau Inscription of Chashṭana : year 11

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XX

Khāvḍā Inscription of Rudradāman I : yaer (5) 3.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



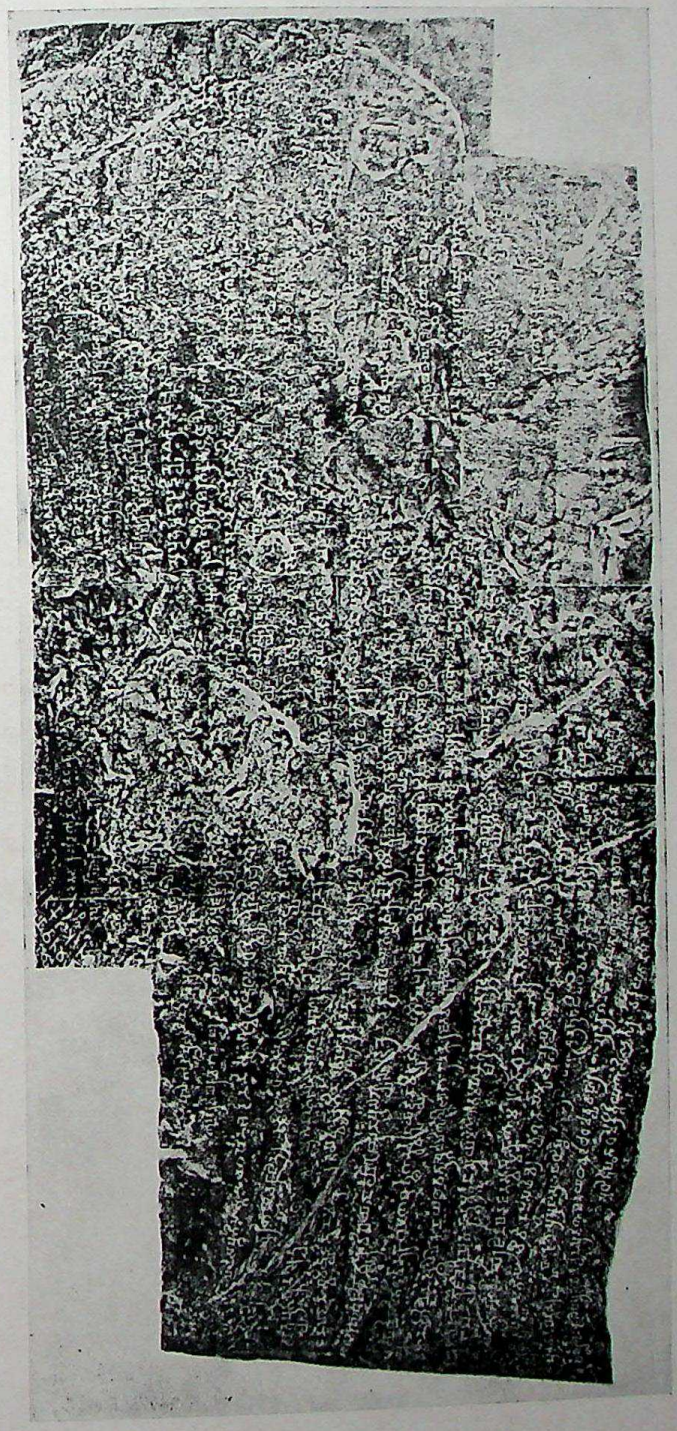
Andhau stone inscriptions of the time of Chashṭaṇa and Rudradāman

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XXII

Andhau Inscription of the time of Chashṭana and Rudradāman

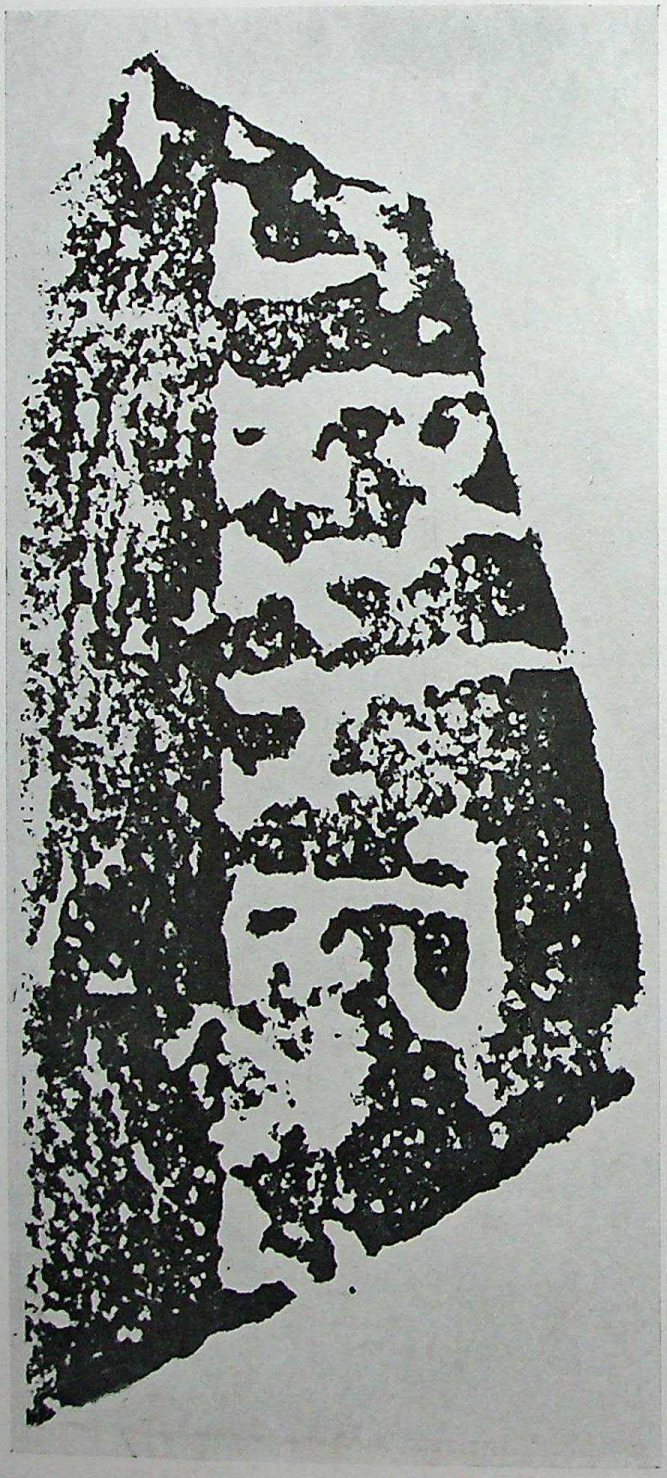
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Junagarh Inscription of Rudradāman I

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XXIV



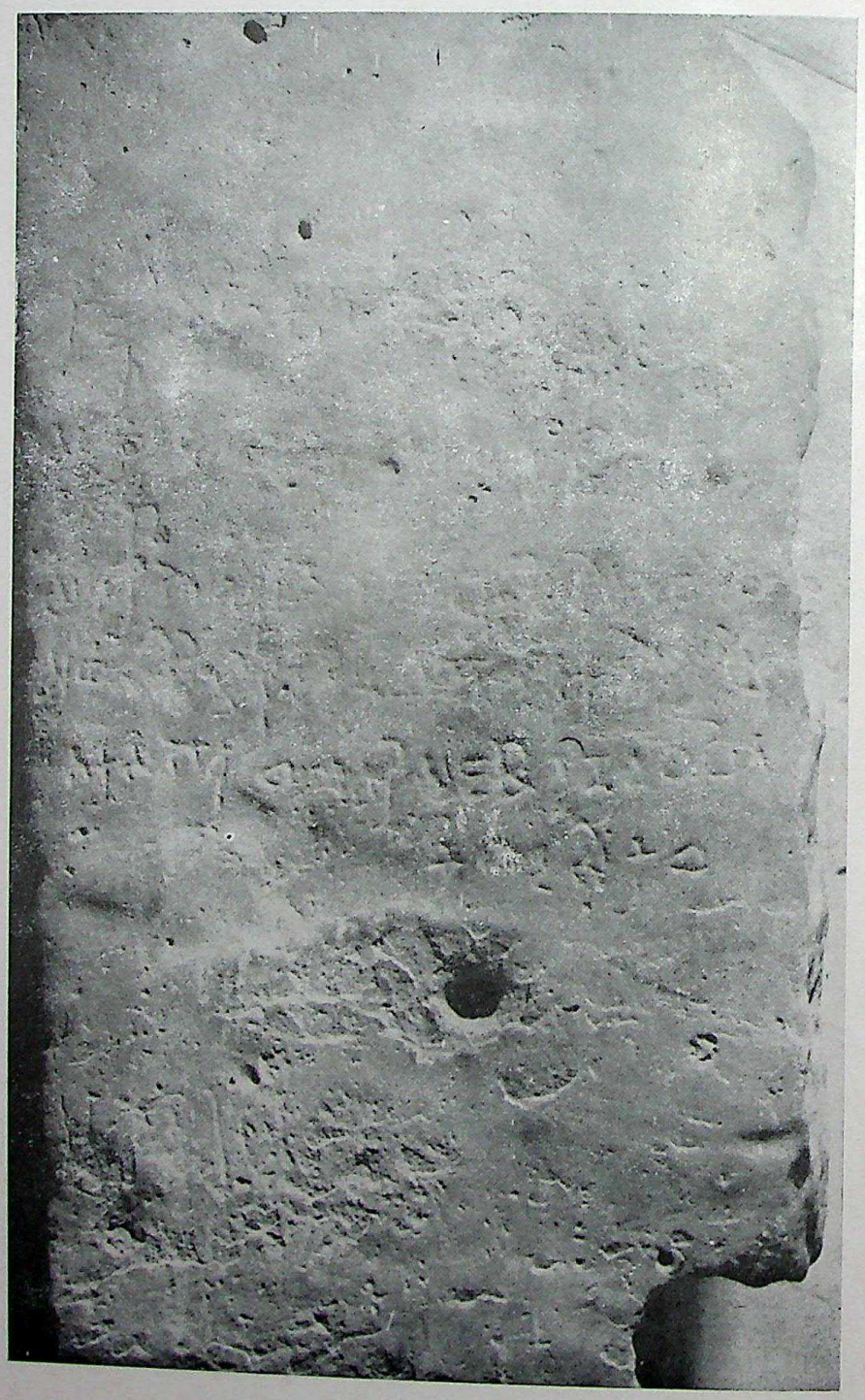
Brick Inscription from Ujjain

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Gundā Inscription of Rudrasiṁha I

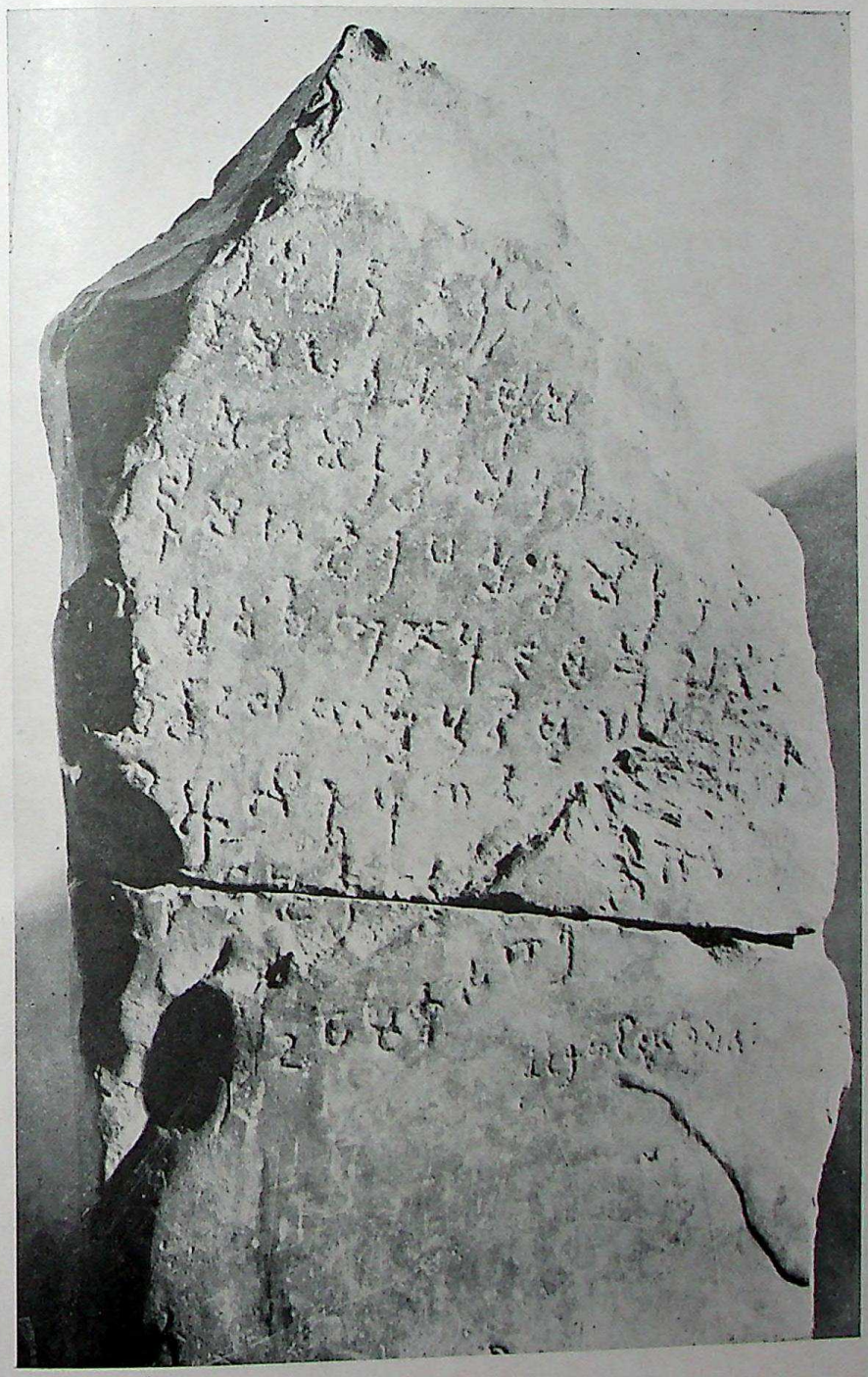
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XXVI



Vandha Inscription of Rudrasiṁha I

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Andhau Inscription of Rudrasiṁha I

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XXVIII

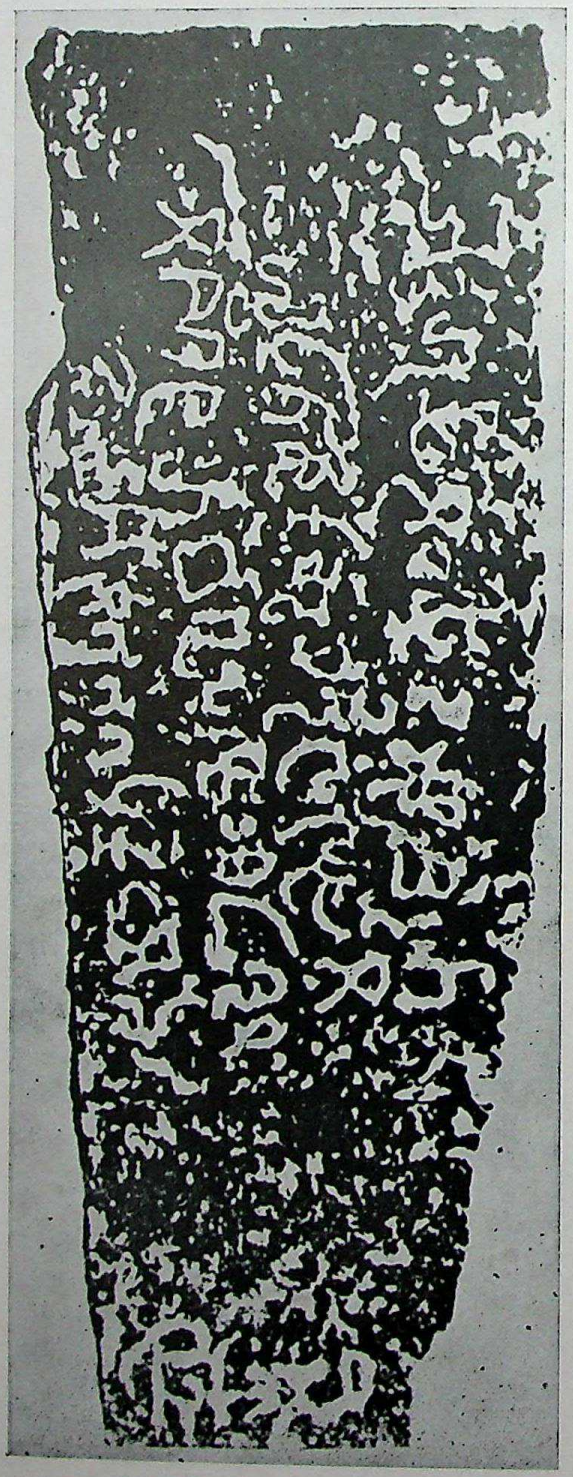
Junagarh Inscription of Jayadāman's grandson

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Junagarh Inscription of Jivadāman I

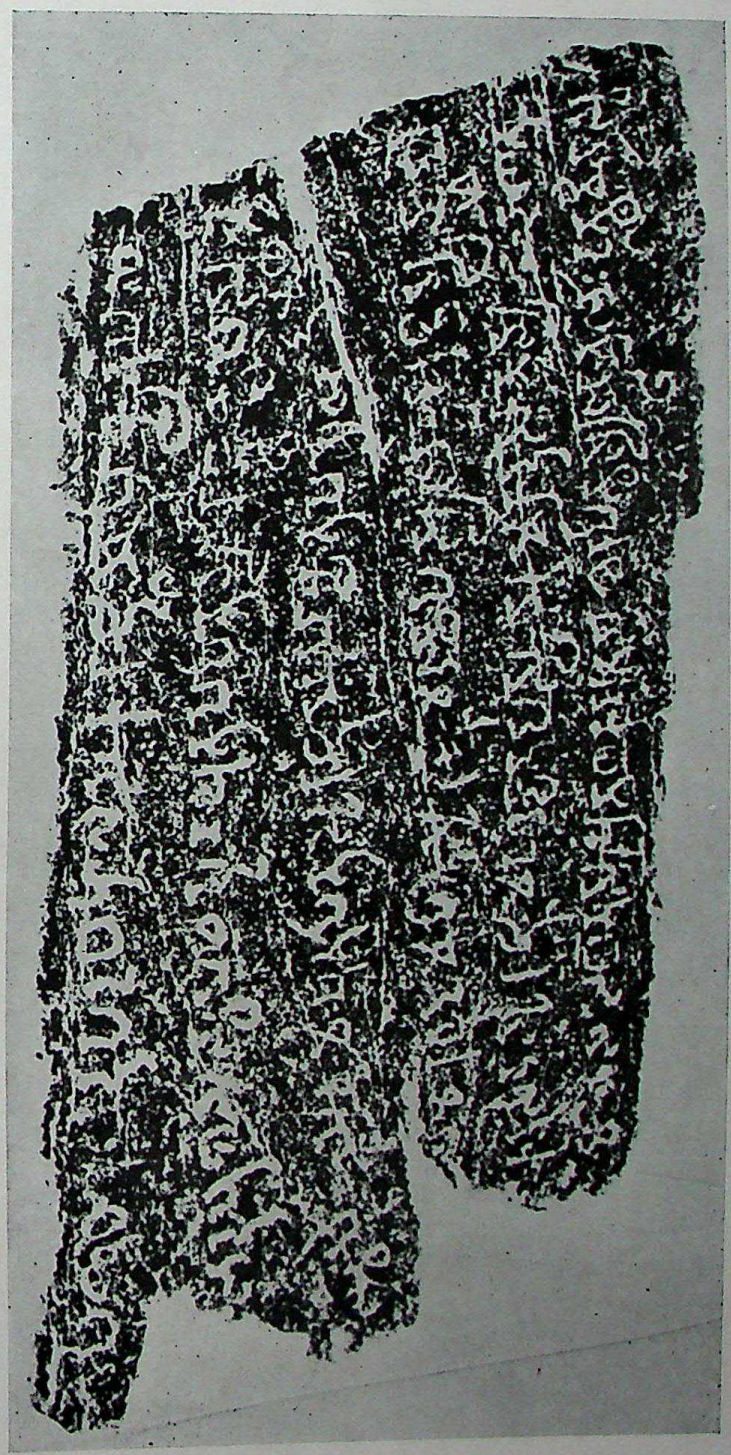
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XXX



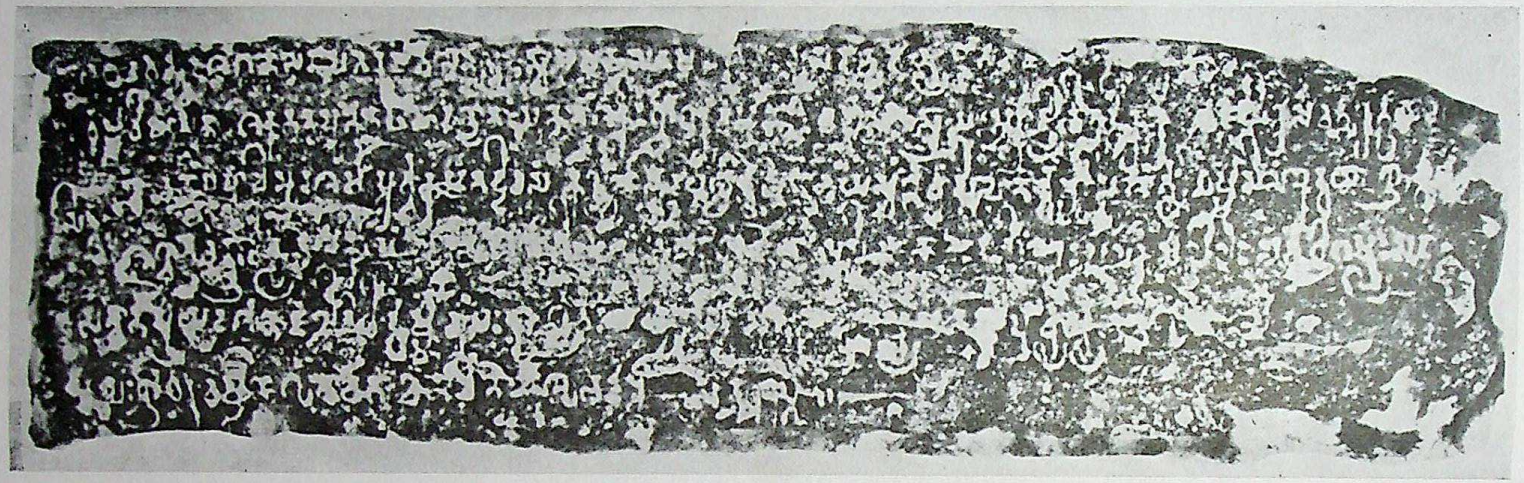
Mulvasara Inscription of Rudresena

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Gaḍhā Stone Inscription of Rudrasena I

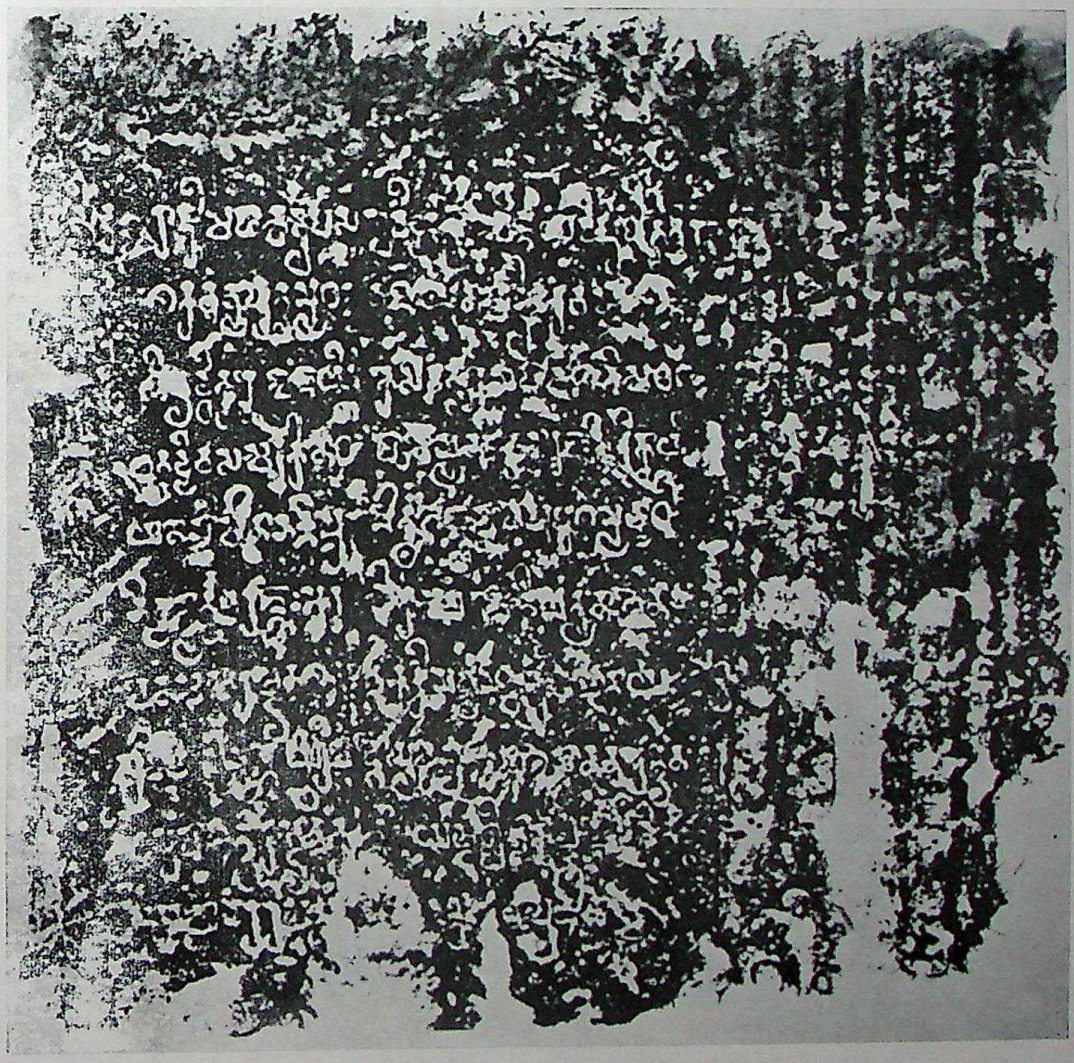
(a) Inṭwā Clay Sealing of Rudrasena



(b) Kānakherā (near Sāñchi) Stone Inscription of Śrīdharavarman

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Eraṇ Stone Pillar Inscription of Śaka Śrīdharavarman

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XXXIV

Top

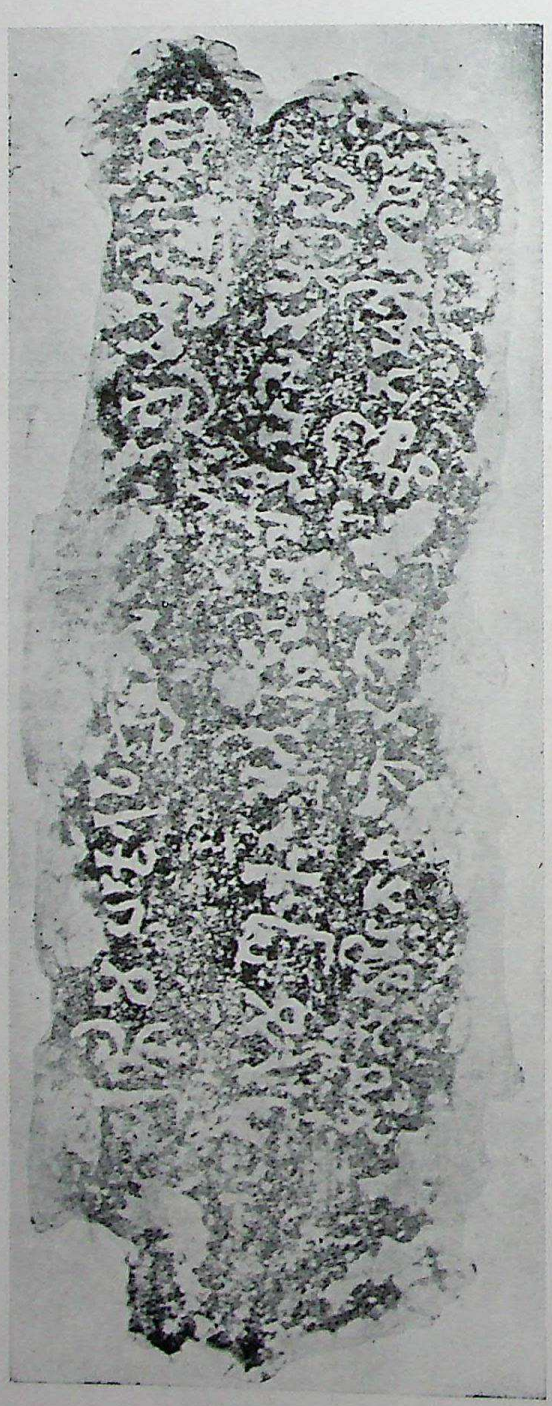
Daulatpur Inscription of Iśvaradeva Ābhira : Śaka year 254

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

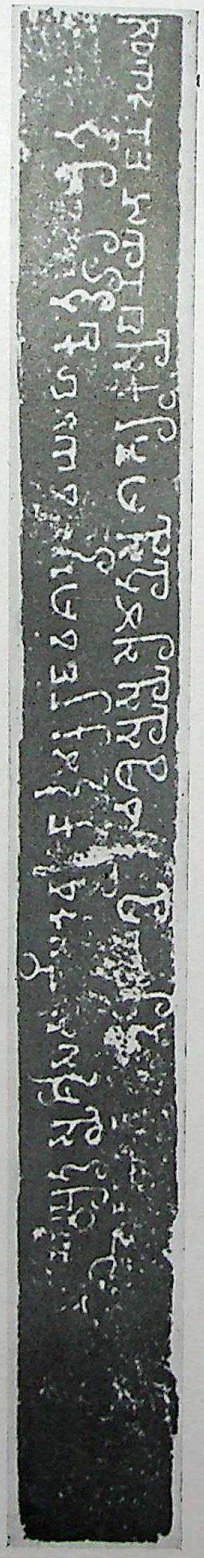
Mevasa Stone Inscription of the time of Bhartridāman ; year 205

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XXXVI



Goṇḍal fragmentary Inscription of Rudrasena III: year 272



Kaṇheri Laṇe Inscription

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Devni-Mori Relic Casket Inscription of Rudrasena : Kathika yeary 127

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XXXVIII

Inscription of a Kshatrapa from Mathura

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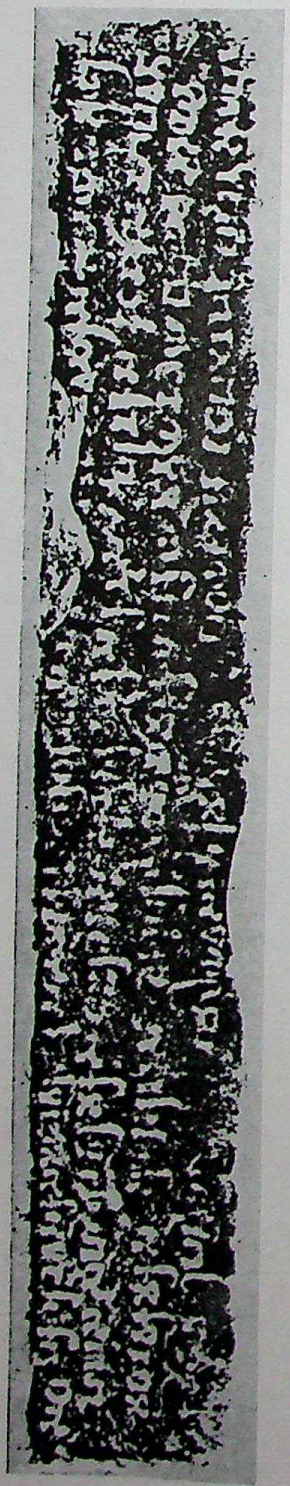
Inscription of the Son of Rājubula

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

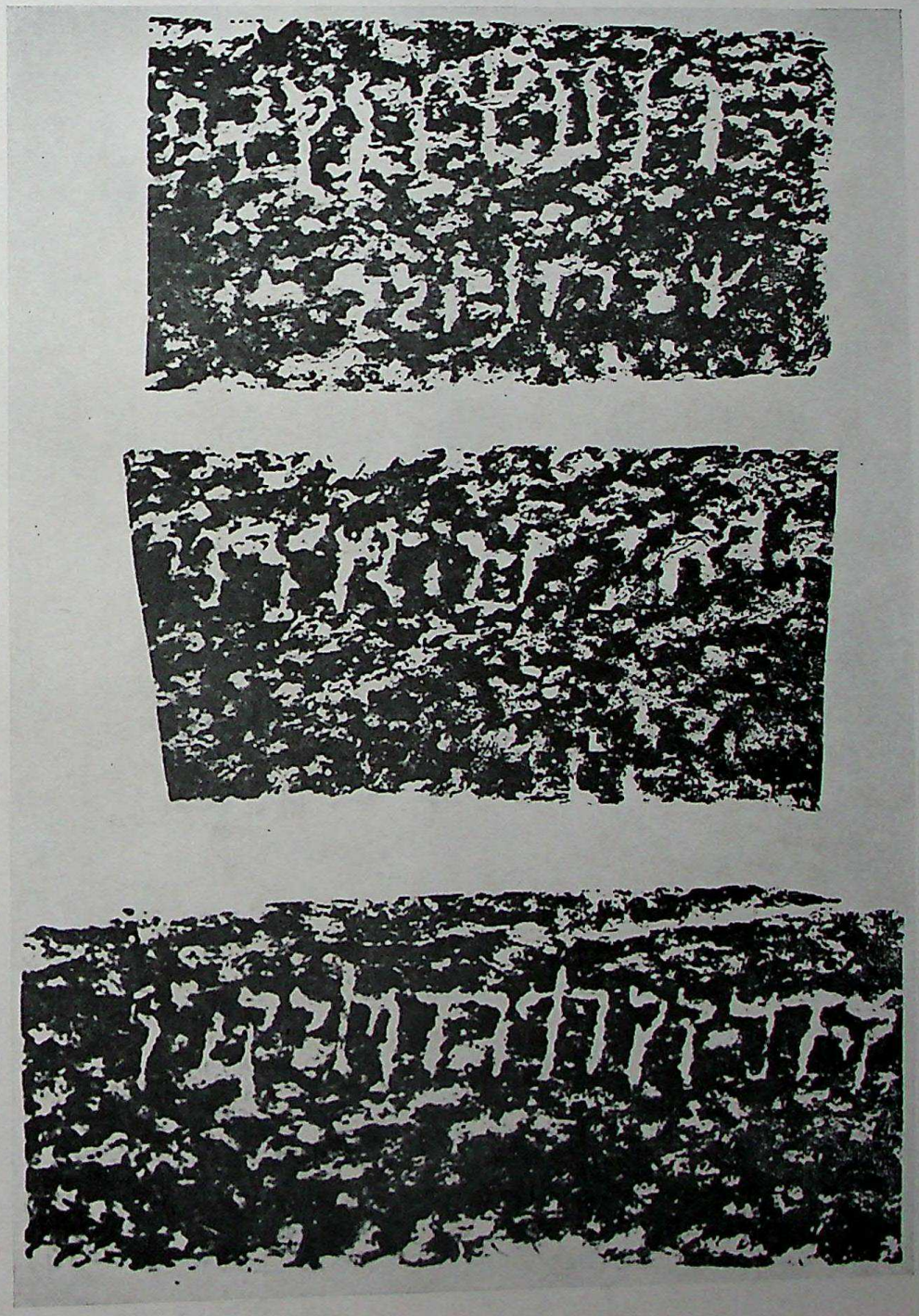
PLATE XL



(a) Amaravati Inscription of a Śaka

(b) Inscription of a Mahākshatrapa from Mathura

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Inscription from Shahdaur of Dāmijada

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XLII

Inscription from Pauni

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Fragmentary Stone Inscription from Patanvav

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PLATE XLIV

Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Rudradāmaśri

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

1. Bhūmaka; 2-4. Nahapāna; 5. Chashtana; 6. Jayadāman; 7. Rudradāman I; 8-9; Dāmajadaśrī I; 10. Jīvadāman.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XLVI

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11. Rudrasiṁha I; 12. Satyadāman; 13. Rudrasena I; 14. Prithivisena; 15. Sanghadāman; 16. Dāmasena ; 17-18. Dāmajadaśrī II; 19. Vīradāman; 20. Iśvaradatta, an Ābhīra king.

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21-22. Yaśodāman; 23. Vijayasena; 24-25. Dāmajadaśrī III; 26-28. Rudrasena II; 29-30. Viśvasiṁha

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PLATE XLVIII

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31. Viśvasiṁha; 32. Bhartridāman; 33. Viśvasena; 34. Rudrasiṁha II; 35. Yaśodāman II; 36. Svāmi Rudrasena III; 37. Svāmi Siṁhasena; 38. Svāmi (Rudra) Sena IV; 39. Svāmī Rudrasiṁha III; 40. Maues

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

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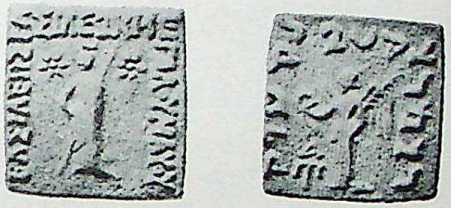

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41-44. Maues; 45-50. Azes

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE L

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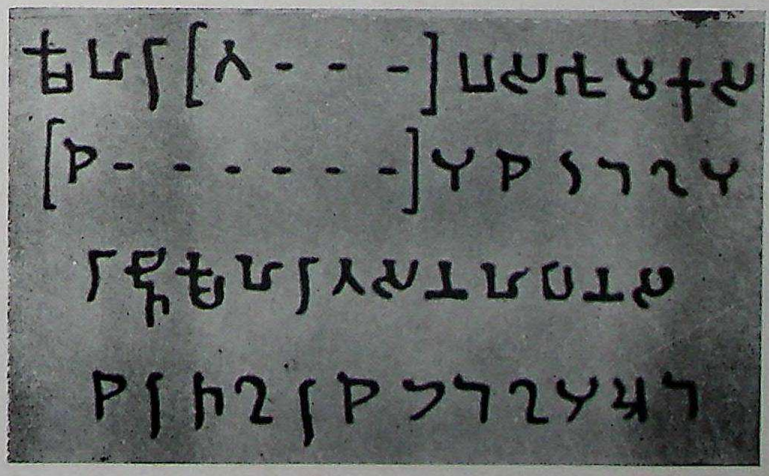
51-57. Azes; 58. Azes/Azilises; 59. Azes/Aspavarma; 60. Śivadatta

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(a) 61. Hagāmasha; 62. Hagāmasha and Hagāna: 63-64. Rājuvula 65. Śoḍāsa; 66. Kharaostes



(b) Coin Legends : Bhūmaka ; Nahapāna.

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PLATE LII

Coin Legends: serials 3-23

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Coin Legends: serials 24-39

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE LIV

Andhau Inscription of a Kshatrapa (?)

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CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh